

H. sing. 697 ^e
(1)

HW

Vol. 3
H. sing. 697

<36625899700011

S

<36625899700011

E

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

+

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS
IN
ASIA.

VOL. I.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS

ASIA.

Vol. I.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
Discoveries and Travels

JOHN BARROW, Esq. F.R.S.

IN

ASIA,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

By HUGH MURRAY, F. R. S. E.

AUTHOR OF "HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF DISCOVERIES
IN AFRICA."

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, LONDON.

1820.

W6/70/343

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

1890.

TO

JOHN BARROW, Esq. F.R.S.

ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE ADMIRALTY,

HIMSELF A DISTINGUISHED OBSERVER OF SOME IMPORTANT

REGIONS OF THE EAST,

AND

WHOSE EFFORTS CONTINUE, AMID THE LABOURS OF OFFICE,

ZEALOUSLY DEVOTED TO THE PROMOTION OF

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY,

THIS WORK

IS

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

HUGH MURRAY.

JOHN BARROW, Esq. F.R.S.

ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE ADMIRALTY.

THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF HIS PUBLISHED WORKS.

1791. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1792.

1793. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1794. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1795. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1796. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1797. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1798. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1799. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1800. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1801. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1802. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1803. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1804. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1805. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1806. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1807. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1808. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1809. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1810. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1811. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1812. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1813. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1814. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1815. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1816. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1817. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1818. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1819. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1820. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1821. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1822. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1823. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1824. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

1825. *Journal of a Voyage to the North Pole*.

PREFACE.

Among the different regions of the globe which have been the object of European research, some indeed have excited more of temporary curiosity, but none have been the object of so deep and permanent an interest as the continent of Asia. All the forms, both of nature and society, are presented there on a grander scale than in other regions. Its empires are more vast, its capitals more splendid, its population greater perhaps than that of all the rest of the world united. Its palaces, blazing with gold and gems, seem to eclipse all the splendour that shines in the courts of Europe. Yet this wealth of its plains, and pomp of its kingdoms, leave still room for nature to display

her grandeur, her terrors, and her waste. Asia is traversed by mountains which equal, and probably surpass the loftiest chains of other continents, and which look down from their eternal snows on plains covered with magnificent cities, and all the pomp of cultivation. The recesses of these mountains, and the boundless wastes stretching behind them, are occupied by fierce, rude, and daring tribes, widely differing from those by whom its fairer regions are peopled. This continent thus presents throughout the boldest and most striking contrasts ; and the path of the traveller is through a never-varying scene, teeming with wild and wonderful adventure. A deep interest must also be excited by that character of antiquity which is so awfully stamped upon it. In Europe all things have changed, and are changing continually ; and only a few fading memorials represent to us the world in which our ancestors lived. In Asia, all has continued fixed as by enchantment. We see empires, whose origin is lost in the unknown beginnings of time ; a system of laws, institutions, and ideas, which has remained unaltered dur-

ing thousands of years ; a picture of the domestic life of man, as it existed in the earliest ages. All the features of form and mind which characterized the citizen of Greece and Rome are for ever obliterated : But the Arabian and the Indian remain the same, outwardly and inwardly, as under Darius and Alexander. Asia, therefore, presents to us, man, not only as he now exists, but as he has been in many former ages.

As there is no continent which presents objects of observation so splendid and various, so there is none perhaps which has been visited by so great a number of intelligent travellers. In executing the present undertaking, therefore, the chief difficulty has been how, within the proposed limits, all the necessary information could be comprised. In this view it became necessary, instead of attempting a full enumeration of travellers into Asia, to confine the work to a somewhat copious analysis of the more important narratives. To have done otherwise would have been to fill the work with a series of meagre notices, which might have been of some use to the future

inquirer, but could have conveyed little information, and excited little interest in the general reader. In countries very frequently traversed, it became even expedient to pass over some which might otherwise have been deserving of notice, presenting only such a number as might give a correct idea of the nature of the country, and of the adventures to be encountered in traversing it. For the benefit of those, however, who seek more extended information, such narratives are carefully pointed out in the concluding list of works relating to Asia.

In contemplating the great extent of this subject, it became advisable to omit all those branches which did not appear to form essential parts of it. For this reason, the islands of the Indian archipelago are not introduced. Although these be generally accounted as part of Asia, they have many ties with the continent of Australasia, and the islands of the South Sea. Being generally visited in the course of the same voyage, they would be more conveniently attached to a history of discoveries in those regions, from which they could not be separated without awk-

wardly dividing the narratives of some of our great circumnavigators. In the recent and interesting work of Mr Crawford, the reader may obtain a full view of the present state of this important archipelago. With a similar view, the northern shores of Asia, and the voyages of discovery performed along them, are not now introduced. Much valuable information may be found in Mr Barrow's Chronological Account of Arctic Voyages; and Captain Burney has also recently devoted a work to this subject. When the present meritorious exertions to explore the limits and termination of the two continents are brought to a close, there might be room, perhaps, for a general work on the Northern Ocean, with all its shores and islands. Those of Asia would form a material part, which it would not be desirable on the present occasion to anticipate.

In regard to arrangement, the following, after some consideration, appeared the most advantageous. The First Book contains "General Travels through Asia," including the narratives of those travellers who went over the larger part of it, or passed

from one to another of its great divisions. In the succeeding Books the leading natural divisions of Asia, with the travels performed through each, are successively treated of. The Author does not flatter himself that his distribution may not in some instances be found liable to criticism ; but he apprehends this plan to be on the whole the best adapted for bringing this vast mass of materials into some regular shape.

It has not been attempted to give any descriptive account of Asia. This subject is too extensive and varied to be fully treated without encroaching on the main object, which was not description, but the history of discoveries. The object has been rather to exhibit the great machine of Asiatic society in movement and action, than to give a vague delineation of its qualities. Care, however, has been taken, that the analysis of the recent travels into each district should be made to include a pretty full view of its present state. The only great extension of this principle has been in the case of Indostan. The Author has so often heard regret expressed at the want of any concise view

of the learned investigations lately made into the religion, literature, and social state of this vast portion of the British empire, that he has employed some portion of the work in attempting to supply this deficiency.

The Author owes extensive acknowledgments to many learned friends who have assisted him in collecting materials for his undertaking. To Richard Heber, Esq. he is indebted not only for the most friendly communications of his own, but for access to many sources of information, which he could not otherwise have reached. He met with every attention and accommodation in the public libraries, both of the metropolis and the two Universities. To Dr Edward Daniel Clarke he owes not only full access to the great library under his care, but other information relative to Asia, such as that illustrious traveller was so well qualified to afford. To the librarians of the Bodleian at Oxford he wishes also to make his particular acknowledgments, especially for the cordial communication made by Mr Nicoll of his ample stores of oriental know-

ledge. He was allowed also liberal access in London to several valuable private collections, particularly those of John Rennie, Esq. Roger Wilbraham, Esq. and James Gooden, Esq. The communications of this last gentleman from his valuable library of Spanish and Portuguese Works, were particularly liberal and important. He derived much benefit also from the personal communications of William Marsden, Esq. John Murdoch, Esq. John Crawford, Esq. James Mill, Esq. Dr Francis Hamilton, Sir Alexander Johnston, and several other gentlemen. From these various sources materials have been collected, which will, he hopes, render a considerable portion of the present Work new, at least, to the English reader.

Edinburgh, June 1820.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERIES OF THE ANCIENTS.

Distinction of Asia into known and unknown.—Herodotus
—Expedition of Alexander.—Voyage of Nearchus.—
Seleucus.—Megasthenes.—Periplus of the Erythræan
Sea.—Great caravan route through Asia, - Page 3

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERIES OF THE ARABIANS.

Rise of the Mahommedan Power.—Arabian Geographers.
—Their Description of the Countries upon the Oxus and
Jaxartes.—India.—China.—The two Mahommedan Tra-
vellers.—Benjamin of Tudela, - 51

BOOK I.

GENERAL TRAVELS THROUGH ASIA.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY EUROPEAN EMBASSIES INTO TARTARY.

The Tartars.—Conquests of Zingis and his dynasty.—Embassies from the Pope.—Ascelin.—Carpini, - Page 69

CHAPTER II.

MISSION OF RUBRUQUIS.

Occasion of this Mission.—Visit to Sartach.—To Baatu.—To Mangu Khan.—Karrakorum.—Return, - 105

CHAPTER III.

MARCO POLO.

Commercial Travels.—Family of the Poli.—Marco.—Occasion of writing his Narrative.—Its Authenticity.—Persia.—Central Asia.—China.—Return by way of India, 151

CHAPTER IV.

TRAVELS IMMEDIATELY SUBSEQUENT TO MARCO POLO.

Oderic of Portenau.—Sir John Mandeville.—Ricold de Monte Crucis, - - - - 185

CHAPTER V.

TRAVELS THROUGH ASIA DURING THE AGE OF TIMUR.

Clavijo.—Schildtberger.—Ambassadors of Shah Rokh, *Page* 203

CHAPTER VI.

VOYAGES ALONG THE SOUTHERN COASTS OF ASIA.

Mendez Pinto.—Sharpey.—Middleton.—Grantham.—Antonio Albuquerque, - - - 234

CHAPTER VII.

TRAVELS ACROSS THE CASPIAN TO PERSIA AND BOKHARA.

Plan for an English Trade with the Caspian.—Jenkinson's Journey to Bokhara—into Persia.—Edwards.—Burrough.—Travels of Cubero.—Beckewitz.—Bruce.—Elton.—Hanway.—Thomson, - - - 306

CHAPTER VIII.

TRAVELS OVERLAND TO AND FROM INDIA.

Tenreiro.—Bernardino.—Godinho.—Capper.—Campbell, 366

CHAPTER IX.

TRAVELS BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA.

Andrada.—Grueber.—Desideri.—Horace de la Penna, 424

CHAPTER X.

TRAVELS THROUGH CENTRAL ASIA AND THE GREAT DESERT.

Itinerary of Pegoletti.—Johnson.—Chesaud.—Goez.—Gerbillon.—Recent information by British Embassies, *Page* 447

CHAPTER XI.

VIEW OF GEOGRAPHICAL SYSTEMS RELATIVE TO ASIA.

Imperfect knowledge of the Ancients.—Homer.—Herodotus.—Eratosthenes.—Position of Thinae.—Ptolemy.—The Seres and Sinæ.—Palibothra.—The Arabians.—Crusades.—Tartary.—Karrakorum.—Portuguese Navigators.—Early Modern Geographers.—The Russians.—Chinese Missionaries.—Recent British Missions, 470

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 82, line 13,	from bottom,	for <i>Tartars</i>	read <i>Fathers</i> .
118,	2,	<i>instruments</i>	read <i>vestments</i> .
122,	13,	from top, for <i>mighty</i>	read <i>nightly</i> .
272,	15,	dele <i>so</i> ,	and insert it next line after <i>me</i> .
342,	14,	<i>Medea</i>	read <i>Medusa</i> .
405,	4,	from bottom, for <i>evening</i>	read <i>morning</i> .

VOL. II.

139,	6,	from bottom, after <i>of</i>	add <i>the mode of</i> .
149,	5,	from top,	dele <i>partly</i> .
212,	13,	for <i>fine</i>	read <i>five</i> .
240,	14,	<i>artisans</i>	read <i>Africans</i> .
245,	2,	<i>offered</i>	read <i>afford</i> .
259,	12,	<i>entry</i>	read <i>victory</i> .
332,	5,	<i>dust</i>	read <i>dirt</i> .
348,	6,	<i>aptness</i>	read <i>openness</i> .
409,	lowest line,	70	read 50.

VOL. III.

120,	7,	from top, for <i>second</i>	read <i>sacred</i> .
133,	4,	dele <i>good</i> .	
186,	6,	from bottom, for <i>Arabio</i>	read <i>Asiatic</i> .
259,	11,	<i>executed</i>	read <i>excited</i> .
440,	6,	<i>Lidele</i>	read <i>Lisle</i> .

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

- Map of Asia to front Title Page, Vol. I.
 Oriens secundum Ptolemæum, Vol. I. p. 481.
 Map of Hindostan, to front Title Page, Vol. II.
 Western Asia, the same, Vol. III.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS
IN
ASIA.

VOL. I.

A

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERIES OF THE ANCIENTS.

*Distinction of Asia into known and unknown.—Herodotus.—
Expedition of Alexander.—Voyage of Nearchus.—Seleucus.—
Megasthenes.—Periplus of the Erythræan Sea.—Great cara-
van route through Asia.*

IN comparing the two great divisions of the globe which attracted the early curiosity of Greece and Rome, Asia seems, in most respects, entitled to a pre-eminence. It presented a wider range of territory, empires more ancient and powerful, population more crowded, and all the arts in a more flourishing state. Yet it does not appear that exploratory journeys were made on so great a scale, or prosecuted with such eager activity, as those which had in view the unknown regions of Africa. Although those of Asia included the most civilized and improved of its

empires, yet they did not display that wild and mysterious aspect which acts so powerfully on the human imagination. Their remoteness, the numerous and warlike nations by whom they were peopled, and the jealousy with which the entrance of strangers was viewed by the ruling powers, proved probably more effectual barriers than even oceans and deserts. It was long before even the cautious enterprise of the merchant could form a regular path across this continent. Science, therefore, could follow only in the train of arms; and it will chiefly be in tracing the career of the great conquerors, that we shall ascertain the steps and the degree, in which Asia was laid open to the eyes of Europe.

The part of this continent which was successively occupied by the empires of Assyria and Persia, was connected by such close relations, at least of war, with Greece, and ultimately with Rome, that it soon became, for them, quite a known part of the world. Unknown Asia might, therefore, be divided into two portions. The first and finest consisted of the great eastern empires now known to us by the names of India and China. India was always a great and magnificent name in the ancient world; but its interior provinces were very partially known; while China, under the name of Serica, was heard of only by faint and indistinct rumour. The other unknown re-

gion consisted of those vast plains, extending far to the north, which were occupied by the pastoral tribes recognized under the general name of Scythians. They were seen on the frontier of all the civilized nations of Europe and Asia; but an entrance into their country was not, for the merchant and traveller, either safe or profitable; while the attempt to penetrate by force of arms was productive, for the greatest conquerors, of such signal disasters, as soon secured them in the uninterrupted possession of their extensive wilds.

Herodotus, the father of history, is also the first who shews an extended and accurate knowledge of the ancient world. The Persian empire was now known to Europe by a war the most celebrated in history. The pride with which its result inspired the Greeks, and the impulse given by it to their glory and genius, naturally led them to make inquiries concerning that vast empire over whose collected force they had triumphed. Persia, therefore, was fully included in the world known to the Greeks; and the objects of their distant curiosity were, as already stated, to the east, India, and to the north, the Scythian tribes.

India, at least that fine and fertile portion of it which borders immediately on the Indus, became an early object of ambition to the masters of Western Asia. If we except the fabulous

exploits of Bacchus, and the doubtful ones of Sesostris, the first recorded attempt to conquer it was that made by Semiramis. This proud and ambitious queen, to whom India was represented as the most fruitful and populous region of Asia, is said to have prepared one of those immense armies which the East only can furnish. Some accounts raise its numbers to three hundred thousand foot and five hundred thousand horse. She began with conquering Bactria, and spent three years in preparing for the passage of the Indus. She accordingly defeated the fleet of boats which had been prepared to oppose her, and transported her army to the eastern bank. Here, however, she had to contend with an immense force, which had been actively collected from all parts of India. The Assyrian troops were particularly dismayed by the report of the great bodies of elephants trained to war, which formed the strength of the Indian armies. To dissipate their alarm, a species of artificial elephant was constructed; a mass of hide being formed into the shape of this huge animal, and moved internally by the force of camels and men. These machines, when brought into real battle, had the success which might have been anticipated. At the shock of the mighty war elephants, their pseudo-antagonists instantly resolved into their component parts, and the scattered fragments fled in

dismay. The whole army followed, and the Queen, severely wounded, was saved only by the swiftness of her horse. She is said scarcely to have brought back a third of her army to Bactria.

Darius was more fortunate. He achieved the conquest of India, though history has not transmitted the details of the expedition. It is also said, that he sent Scylax on a maritime expedition down the Indus; and that this early navigator actually made the circuit of the southern shores of Asia, and came up the Arabian Gulf; an expedition fully equal to the circumnavigation of the globe in the time of Magellan. We are equally destitute of any particulars respecting this remarkable voyage. The India of Darius appears only to have included the western provinces of Lahore and Moultan, called commonly the Punjab. Herodotus describes this region as bounded on the east by a desert of sand; which statement could apply only to the great one that intervenes between these provinces and those watered by the Ganges. The description of India given by this great historian does not evince any very intimate knowledge of the subject; and many of the features which he ascribes to it seem rather borrowed, with exaggeration, from those of the neighbouring mountainous districts. He represents the nation as following customs which belong only to the rud-

est state of society ; as strangers to tillage, and subsisting only on the produce of their flocks ; as devouring human flesh, even that of their nearest relations. He mentions, however, cotton, under the description of wool, finer than that of sheep, growing upon wild trees ; he describes India as more populous than the rest of the world, and as yielding a larger revenue than Babylon, Assyria, or any other kingdom subject to Persia. These particulars leave no doubt that India was then exactly the same country which it has ever since been.

The people who roam over the northern plains of Europe and Asia were already known to the Greeks, and had several times acted a conspicuous part in Persian history. During the reign of the Medes, they are said to have overrun the whole of Western Asia, and to have remained masters of it for the space of twenty-eight years. After their expulsion they rendered themselves still famous by the abortive attempts to conquer them, made by the greatest of the Persian monarchs. According to the testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus, Cyrus found, in the contest with the Scythian queen, a fatal termination of his empire and glory. The overthrow of Darius in a similar attempt, though less fatal to himself, was, as to his views of conquest, not less signal and complete. The Scythians were therefore a

great name in the annals of Asia ; though, from obvious causes, no intimate knowledge could be obtained of their domestic manners and institutions. The two tribes chiefly known to the Persians were the Massagetæ, who occupied the regions to the north of the Jaxartes (called by Herodotus Araxes), and the Sacæ, who inhabited regions to the north-west of India. Of the Massagetæ, Herodotus records only a few features,—that they fight on horseback, and with arrows, derive their subsistence from herds, and are conveyed from place to place in waggons, like all other Scythians. He adds, that they have their wives in common ; that they put to death, and even feed on the flesh of their aged relations. These last features may be considered as doubtful, and as only indicating the general impression which prevailed of their rude and ferocious habits. The further details of Scythian manners given by this historian are drawn from European Scythia, which was rendered familiar to Greece by the celebrated expedition of Darius.

The Greeks, after this time, involved in violent internal conflicts, gained little information, and indeed felt little curiosity respecting the remote parts of Asia. The period, however, arrived, when those were laid open by the grand expedition of Alexander. Whatever might be the faults of this youthful conqueror, he had cer-

tainly the merit of making his success subservient to the interests of science. The precepts of Aristotle, and the longed-for praise of the Athenians, were never forgotten ; and every exertion was made to diffuse arts, commerce, and knowledge, over the vast regions which he traversed as a conqueror. Some of his principal captains were appointed to observe and describe the countries passed through ; while each day's march was measured by surveyors, accompanying the army for that purpose. The career of Alexander, therefore, omitting the military events, may be considered, without much impropriety, in the light of an exploratory expedition through Asia.

The early part of his exploits led through countries that were well known. The battles of the Granicus and of Issus made him master of Asia Minor ; he then marched along the coast of Syria into Egypt, which he wrested from the Persian dominion. He next returned into Asia, and crossing the Euphrates and Tigris, decided, at Arbela, the fate of the Persian empire. The wreck of Darius's forces fled eastward into Bactria, whither they were followed by Alexander, who was thus led upon ground never trodden before by a Grecian army. The troops, in their way, encountered that mighty range of mountains, prolonged from the Himmaleh, which was known to the ancients under the names of Caucasus or Para-

pomissus. Here, after quitting so lately the burning plains of Persia, they were astonished to find themselves suddenly buried in deep snow, and suffering under an excess of cold, which made some imagine themselves transported under the polar circle. Being ill supplied with provisions, and finding none here, they were exposed to the most severe sufferings. Many of the soldiers had their feet benumbed, and their eyes almost blinded; and several who sat down to rest were frozen to death. All these obstacles, however, being at last surmounted, and the mountains passed, the remains of the Persian army immediately gave way. The love of glory now impelled Alexander to invade the Scythians, in the hope of swelling his triumphs by the conquest of these hitherto invincible wanderers; an imprudent resolution, which exposed his army to immense hardships, and probably laid the foundation of that discontent which afterwards stopped short his career of conquest. Having crossed the Oxus and taken Maracanda (Samarcand), he proceeded northward to the Jaxartes. A great host of Scythian cavalry was stationed on the opposite bank, who, with loud and taunting defiance, invited the young monarch to prove the difference between them and the effeminate subjects of Darius. Alexander seems to have here felt some hesitation; unfavourable omens were

announced ; but he at length determined to dare every hazard rather than be the sport of these barbarous Nomades. The attack was successful ; the weight of the Macedonian army forced the passage of the river, and obliged the loose squadrons of the enemy to give way. They retired, however, into the interior of that vast *steppe* which extends from the Aral to the Palcati Nor, and far northwards into Siberia. Alexander attempted to proceed in pursuit of their swift moving host ; but he soon found his army overcome with heat, thirst, and fatigue. His daring obstinacy might, however, have urged him on till it was too late ; but a violent fever, with which he was seized, afforded a decent pretence for bringing back the army. His historians report, that the Scythian king sent in his submission ; but it appears, at least, that large bands of this nation afterwards crossed the Jaxartes, and harassed the rear of the Macedonian army.

After this failure Alexander turned his whole attention to that celebrated region, which has always been the main prize of Asiatic conquest. In his way to India, it was necessary to cross again the great range of Parapomismus ; but this, probably by taking due precaution, he appears to have effected without loss. The passage seems to have been made by the great caravan road between Balkh and Candahar. The tribes on the

west of the Indus retired into their fortresses, which, being situated on lofty, almost inaccessible rocks, could not be reduced without several arduous efforts. Alexander then crossed the Indus, probably at or near Attok, and found the whole army of Porus drawn up on the eastern bank. His celebrated victory over that chief placed at his command all the part of India watered by the five rivers. It was in approaching the sandy desert, which separates it from the magnificent valley of the Ganges, that the discontent of his troops forced him to renounce that last and highest object of his ambition. Compelled to stop in his career of victory, he retreated in a direction which had discovery for its object. He determined, in the first instance, to sail down the Hydaspes, fondly imagined by him to be the head of the Nile, the discovery of which formed the grand geographical problem of antiquity. Inquiry soon satisfied him as to the vanity of this expectation; but he still resolved to visit the ocean, which he found might be reached by sailing successively down the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and the Indus. He ordered therefore trees to be cut down from the neighbouring forests, and a fleet constructed which might convey his army down these rivers. Two thousand vessels were built, of various forms and dimensions, according to the purposes for which they were des-

tined. Eighty were triremes, others were calculated for store ships, and others were flat bottomed for the conveyance of cavalry. The whole being embarked, after solemn sacrifices, the signal was given, and the armament began to move. They sailed in regular order, the ships of war, the cavalry transports, and the store ships, distinct from each other. The loud call of the officers, the shouts of the rowers, and the clash of so many thousand oars, echoed by the surrounding woods, as the armament floated down this majestic stream, formed an imposing spectacle, and the admiring Indians followed in crowds for a great way down the river. As Alexander sailed along, a blind warlike impulse led him to attack the natives on its banks, who refused submission; and he spent time, and even hazarded his life, in these enterprises, from which no permanent result could be hoped. Involved in these and other delays, nine months elapsed before the armament reached the Delta of the Indus, then known by the name of Pattalena. While sailing down one of its branches, not aware how much of its magnitude was derived from the ocean, they experienced considerable alarm from the sudden retrocession of the tide, which left a great part of the fleet on dry land. The next influx heaved it up, and set it again afloat; but in these rapid transitions from one element to another, some of the vessels suf-

ferred considerably. Alexander, with a small part of the fleet, then sailed down to take a view of that vast ocean, which appeared to him the extremity of India, and one of the grand boundaries of the habitable globe. He did not attempt, however, to navigate his army round the south of Persia ; but, sending Nearchus with an exploratory armament to pursue this route, he landed, and undertook to convey his army by a parallel course through Gedrosia (the modern Mekran). The inhabitants, it is said, warned him of the danger with which this route was beset ; telling him, that the attempt to pass it had proved nearly fatal to the greatest conquerors ; that Semiramis had not carried through it more than twenty, and Cyrus more than seven of the troops with which they entered. These tidings served only to inflame the romantic vanity of the young conqueror, and to inspire him with the hope of doing what these mighty predecessors had vainly attempted. He marched first into the country of the Oritæ, (now the district of Lus, the most easterly of Mekran), situated on the banks of the river Arabius, the modern Pooralee. The country is said to have abounded in myrrh trees of peculiar size, and yielding a great quantity of gum, which was collected by the Phoenician merchants who followed the camp. I think it not improbable that this may apply to the assafoetida trees, which, by modern

report, cover all the mountains of this district, and yield gum copiously. Incense also abounded, which, being trodden by the feet of this great army, gave out its scent, and perfumed the air. The historians remark also a species of thorns, in which, if a horse were once entangled, it would scarcely escape; referring probably to the thick jungle, which here, as in India, covers great part of the uncultivated grounds. The sea-ports were found to be mere villages composed of a few wretched huts, the walls formed of shells, and the roofs of fish bones. After passing the Arabius, Alexander seems to have proceeded through the interior of Gedrosia. Here he encountered one of those vast deserts of moving sand, which fill so much of the space between the Indus and the Persian Gulf. The descriptions of the Greek historians closely correspond to that recently given by Mr Pottinger of his route through Baloochistan. The sand was collected in heaps, into which the traveller sunk as in mire or snow. At the same time the most exquisite sufferings were endured from heat and thirst; and, in order to reach water, it was often necessary to march twenty, forty, or even sixty miles in a day. Many sunk and were lost in the sands as in a sea; others, exhausted with fatigue, could not keep pace with the army, and, unable again to find their way through the moving waste, perished with hunger.

and thirst. The army came occasionally to torrents, rushing precipitously from the mountains; when, as they threw themselves furiously in to quench their thirst, some were carried down by the waves; others, drinking to excess of this turbid water, caught dangerous diseases. Alexander, however, sharing, as was usual with him, in such extremities, every suffering and privation which the army endured, led them at last back to the sea-shore, where they at least found water. He had then little difficulty in reaching the capital of Gedrosia, where, having allowed some time for refreshment, he proceeded through Caramania (Kerman) in a sort of Bacchanalian triumph, to the central provinces of the Persian empire.

Meanwhile, Nearchus was proceeding on his destined voyage round the coasts of Asia. His own narrative is lost; but a satisfactory abstract of it is given by the faithful pen of Arrian, and has been illustrated in the most able and careful manner by Dr Vincent, whom we shall almost implicitly follow. Sailing down the western branch of the Indus, he arrived at its mouth, which presented a somewhat formidable aspect; a lofty rock rising in the midst, round which the waves were furiously dashing. A canal, however, of about half a mile in length, being cut in the sand, the fleet was conveyed through it in safety. After sailing about a hundred miles along the

coast, and passing Krokala (Corachie), and Eirus (Cape Monze), he came to the mouth of the river Arabius (Pooralee). Near this he encountered a violent storm, and two ships were lost, but the crews succeeded in swimming to land. He now sailed along the coast of the Oritæ, and came into communication with Leonatus, whom Alexander had despatched with a body of troops to reduce that people. Such of his people as appeared dispirited by the fatigues and dangers of the voyage, were allowed to join Leonatus, and their place was supplied by volunteers from the army. Nearchus came next to the river Tomerus (the modern Wudd), where he was obliged to effect a landing by force of arms. He describes the inhabitants here as presenting an aspect of the wildest savageness. Their bodies were covered with hair, they had nails like the paws of wild beasts, were clothed in skins, and fought with spears composed of wood hardened in the fire. In sailing along a coast so much more southerly than his countrymen had been accustomed to navigate, the Greek commander observed some singular phenomena. The sun, then probably in the tropic, projected its shadows to the south; while stars that used to rise high above the horizon, appeared no longer, and others rose and set which had never before been visible. The coast of the Oritæ terminated at Bagazira (Cape Ar-

rubah); and after sailing for upwards of a hundred miles, they came to Cophanta (Guadel), before which the aspect of the coast began to improve, and they saw fruit trees, flowers, and men somewhat less savage. Eighty miles farther, they came to Cyiza (Gwutter), and in fifty more, to a small town (Churbar), the appearance of the country round which inspired Nearchus with the expectation of finding in it a supply of corn. He landed therefore, and took it by surprise; but, though he found a considerable stock of a species of meal composed of dried fish ground to powder, the grain was very scanty. In continuing his voyage along the Persian coast, he found his difficulties continually increasing. The coast being barren, provisions became very deficient, and landing dangerous; and the minds of the sailors were at last so overcome with despondence, that he durst not allow them to go on shore, for fear of desertion. The whole of this coast, for many hundred miles, after leaving that of the Oritæ, was occupied by a race whom he calls Ichthyophagi, or fish eaters, a term widely applied by the ancients to the inhabitants of savage coasts. Although their food was drawn almost entirely from the waters, they had few boats, and took chiefly the fish left by the ebbing tide in small bays and hollows. Their nets were formed of the inner rind of the palm tree, twisted to-

gether like hemp. Some had no bread at all, and the rest were so scantily supplied, that they used it as meat, and the fish as bread. It is asserted, that even the cattle fed upon fish, as was proved by the taste of their flesh. The rafters and doorposts of their houses were often composed of large fish bones. Nearchus reported himself to have frequently on this coast made the encounter of enormous whales, which were first recognized by the alarming height to which water was thrown up. The sailors were seized with a serious panic; but the commander, causing them to raise loud shouts, to sound their trumpets, and violently beat the sea with their oars, succeeded in inducing these monsters of the deep to maintain a respectful distance. A more chimerical fear was inspired by an island which they passed, the reported abode of a Persian Circe, who allured mariners on shore, and, having seduced them by voluptuous pleasures, transformed them finally into fishes, which were thrown out to swim in the surrounding sea. The Sun, however, disapproving of such proceedings, obliged her not only to leave the island, but to restore these cruelly transformed mortals to their original shape; whence, it is said, proceeded the nation of the Ichthyophagi. Arrian, however, in copying Nearchus, justly derides him for having lent his ear to so extravagant a fable.

After passing the coast of the Ichthyophagi, which forms the maritime part of Gedrosia, Nearchus came to that of Caramania (the modern Kerman), which presented a much more fertile and smiling aspect, abounding in corn, fruits, and vines. They had now, therefore, overcome the most serious of their difficulties. After sailing along a considerable extent of this coast, they saw, far on the left, a large promontory stretching into the ocean. Those on board who were acquainted with the coast, stated that this cape formed part of Arabia, that its name was Meceta (Cape Mussendoon), and that it formed the entrance into the Persian Gulf. Some of the officers, viewing Arabia as a fragrant and blooming region, wished to direct their voyage thither; but Nearchus insisted that this would by no means fulfil the intentions of Alexander. In fact, had they landed here, they could have reached the army only by a most laborious and circuitous route. After sailing thus seventy or eighty miles, they came to Harmozia, situated at the mouth of the river Anamis, in a delightful country, which abounded with every thing that could supply their wants. This is probably the river and country round Minab, which, according to the recent report of Captain Grant, entirely corresponds with the description of Nearchus. Here they landed, and spent some time in recruiting themselves,

after so many labours and wants. They reflected now with satisfaction on all the sufferings and difficulties which they so happily surmounted. An unexpected incident crowned their good fortune. A party happening to ramble into the country, met a person in a Greek dress, and who, on being addressed, was found to speak the Greek language. This giving rise to eager inquiries, they learned that the army, from which this person had straggled, was encamped at the distance of only five days' journey. Nearchus then, with five of his officers, immediately set out for the camp. On approaching, they met some of their fellow-soldiers, who did not at first recognize them, so completely was their appearance altered by a long train of hardships, their hair and beard being neglected and overgrown, their faces swarthy and sunburnt, and their bodies reduced almost to skeletons. The news reached Alexander before their arrival; who, on seeing them in this doleful plight, burst into tears, never doubting that, though they had escaped, his fleet must have perished with all the army on board of it. But when Nearchus said, "O king, thy navy and army are both safe, and we are come as messengers of their happy arrival," the tears of sorrow gave place to tears of joy, and the king protested, that the preservation of this fleet was more acceptable to him than the conquest of Asia.

While Nearchus remained at the camp, Alexander offered to relieve him from any farther charge of the squadron, and to send another person to conduct it to the head of the Gulf. But Nearchus, since he had brought it through the hardest part of the voyage, claimed the honour of finishing his own task. The rest of his voyage was comparatively easy, the king taking care that he should be supplied with corn and every necessary. He describes himself first as passing the small barren and rocky island of Organa, the same which was afterwards so celebrated under the name of Ormus. He came then to a much larger and more fertile one, called Oaracta (Kishme). Soon after, he passed the limits of Caramania, after having sailed along it for nearly four hundred miles, and entered upon Persia. The whole coast, henceforth, is described as low and marshy, and the navigation encumbered by rocks and shallows. The Persian coast ended at the river Arosis (Endian Tab), which appeared to him the largest he had seen since leaving the Indus. He then entered on the coast of Susiana, and was not long of reaching the Tigris, which might be considered as the termination of the voyage. As they ascended the river, Alexander came up with his troops, and a meeting, full of joy and triumph, took place between the two

portions of the army, which had been so long separated.

Alexander was not equally successful in ascertaining the communication between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and of this last with the Indian Ocean. Some expeditions, indeed, were sent down the Red Sea, which are said to have coasted round the greater part of Arabia, and to have seen some islands; but they could give no distinct account of these objects, and never reached the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Inferences were even made, since the northern part of Arabia was uninhabitable by the heat and drought, that the southern part must be so in a much greater degree. The discovery of the important navigation between India and Egypt was reserved for the Ptolemies.

Although Alexander had not penetrated beyond the Punjab, his observations, with those of the intelligent officers who accompanied him, communicated to Europe a much more accurate idea than before, of the aspect of the Indian world. The first circumstance which seems to have struck them was, the grandeur of the features of nature. The Indus appeared to them far to surpass in the mass of its waters the Nile and the Danube, the mightiest streams of the western world; while a series of tributaries, rivals to the Rhine and the Po, poured into it their

collected streams. The Ganges was reported to be still larger than the Indus, and, in a great part of its course, to resemble a sea, the eye being unable to reach across it. The mountains of Imaus or Emodus, and the vast snows with which they were covered, were also known, though not visited. They seem to have been peculiarly struck by the gigantic magnitude of the trees by which those regions are shaded. One is mentioned, the shadow of which extended for more than half a mile; and another, beneath whose leaves a whole army might find shelter. Vast, however, as are the dimensions of some natives of the Indian forest, these statements cannot be acquitted of some exaggeration. The cotton tree also struck the Greeks as a very singular phenomenon. They remark, with wonder, “that trees clothe the Indians,”—“that wool grows upon trees;” while another writer observes, that it cannot properly be called wool, being rather something finer and whiter than linen. Among animals, their particular attention was arrested by the elephant, unknown in Europe and Western Asia, while in India it forms so conspicuous an instrument, both of war and of regal pomp.

The most interesting, however, of the statements given by the historians of Alexander, are those which relate to the manners and institu-

tions of the people of Indostan. From these we find that this people were, in all essential particulars, exactly the same as at the present moment. The institution of castes, and the ties by which each individual was bound to that in which he had received his birth, appear to have subsisted in equal force. It is remarkable, however, that both Arrian and Strabo enumerate seven classes, instead of the present four. These are, 1. Philosophers or priests ; 2. Husbandmen ; 3. Shepherds ; 4. Military men ; 5. Manufacturers ; 6. Inspectors, or more properly spies, employed by the king ; 7. Royal counsellors and magistrates. It may be difficult to say of all the discrepancies, whether they have arisen from change of circumstances, or from inaccurate observation. The two last are rather offices than classes, and must have been obliterated by the long subjection of India to foreign dominion. A higher place is assigned in the ancient system to the agricultural class ; and it is added, that they were held in such reverence, that they ploughed and sowed in the sight of hostile armies without dreading the slightest molestation. If so, the state of India has changed for the worse, as no such forbearance is now exercised ; and this may account for the military class being now raised to a rank above the agricultural. The high pre-eminence of the Bramins, and the peculiarity of

their habits and opinions, have been long the most characteristic features of Indian society, and attracted equally the surprise and curiosity of the Greeks. Their ostentatious contempt of all earthly objects and pleasures; the deep solitude in which they lived; and the unheard-of penances and mortifications to which they submitted, was observed and reported to Alexander. That monarch felt an extreme curiosity to see and converse with these sages; but he understood, that however great the person might be who sought an interview, they refused to come at his bidding, and expected that he should wait upon them. This last appeared to Alexander beneath his dignity; and he did not choose to employ compulsion. He therefore sent Onesicrotus, one of his most intelligent officers, to draw out of them what information he could. Onesicrotus, at the distance of about two miles from the city, found fifteen philosophers standing and lying in different postures, all immoveable, and exposing themselves uncovered to the rays of a sun, under which no one else could put his naked foot to the ground. Onesicrotus, after surveying the groupe, addressed one of them, named Calanus, who was lying naked on a heap of stones. He informed him that he came deputed by the king of the Greeks, who felt an anxious desire to hear his wisdom. Calanus,

casting an eye on his visitor, said that his brilliant dress, and the armour in which he was cased, bore too evident marks of the degeneracy of the human race ; that it were in vain to speak philosophy to one in such a garb ; but, that if he would throw himself naked on the same stones upon which he himself lay, he was then ready to enter into the discussion. Onesicrotus pausing at this proposition, another Indian, named Mandanis, struck in, and censured the harshness of his companion's reply, observing, that Alexander was highly deserving of praise, both for the desire of wisdom, so unusual in a king, and also for the courteous manner in which he had sought to obtain it. He then expressed his regret to Onesicrotus that he could communicate with him only through ignorant interpreters, which was like pouring pure water through mud ; nevertheless he would do his best to give him an idea of the Indian philosophy. He then gave a summary of its leading tenets, asking if they bore any resemblance to those of the Greeks. Onesicrotus said, that those of Pythagoras were very nearly the same, extending even to the abstinence from animal food ; and that those of Socrates and Diogenes had many points of similarity. The Indian replied, that this was well ; yet their inferiority to the Indian philosophers was manifest, since they had not, like them,

thrown off the encumbrance of clothes, and placed themselves in a state of total nudity. This discourse continued till evening, when the sages arose and walked into the city. Onesicrotus had then an opportunity of remarking, that their vocation was not quite so unprofitable as he had at first imagined. When they met any one bearing fruits or provisions, they were invited to help themselves, without any payment asked or expected ; and if it was oil, they were anointed with it. The doors of the greatest houses in the city were open to them ; they might enter even those apartments from which every one else was excluded. Mandanis, however, though thus mild and communicative, was the one who adhered most firmly to his country and cast. When Alexander sent to request that he would accompany him, boasting of himself as the son of Jove and the master of the world, Mandanis positively denied his possession of these attributes, and intimated a determination to adhere to his present country and mode of life ; and Alexander had the magnanimity to forgive and approve this answer. Calanus, on the contrary, was induced to join the Grecian camp, and even to follow it in its return to the west of Asia, though he still retained the practice and opinions of his country and sect ; and, when arrived at a great age, astonished the Greeks, by mounting a funeral pile

raised by himself. This philosophic suicide, which is described as prevailing among the sages of India, seems different from that of modern times, which appears to be always in the form of self immolation to some favourite idol.

The Greek writers have recorded other particulars, indicating the immutability of manners and usages among the ancient people ; such as the burning of wives after the death of their husbands ; the marriage of females at the age of seven ; the worship of the Ganges ; the exclusive use of vegetable food ; the mode of taking elephants ; and the use of two-handed swords, and bows drawn by the feet. It does not appear that, in their cursory progress, they acquired any knowledge of the literature or sacred books of the Indians.

Alexander had returned to Babylon with the full design of preparing an armament on a greater scale, which might have achieved the entire conquest of Indostan. The well known catastrophe which terminated his life, closed also the scene upon all these ambitious hopes. His short-lived empire being partitioned among his principal captains, Syria, with the provinces on the Euphrates, fell to the share of Seleucus. To complete the conquest of India, and the exploration of the Indian seas, was a task which devolved na-

turally on this new monarch ; and his enterprise and activity sufficiently impelled him to push it as far as was consistent with the care of maintaining his ground against his rivals. It has been reported, that Patroclus, his admiral, setting sail from the Indian Sea, circumnavigated the coasts of Asia till, from the Northern Ocean, he entered the Caspian. This voyage is evidently fabulous, invented in support of the geographical system of the school of Eratosthenes. It is probable, however, that Patroclus sailed along some of the coasts of India ; and his authority with respect to the geography of that country is quoted with great respect by Strabo, who adds, that he held a high place in the confidence of Seleucus. It appears more certain, that this monarch carried his arms into India with the view of completing the conquest of that region ; but though some writers have represented him as penetrating farther than Alexander, there seems no reason to think that he ever reached the Gangetic provinces. He sent, however, Megasthenes on an embassy to Sandracottus, the king of the Persii, whose dominion extended over all the countries from Delhi to the mouth of the Ganges. Megasthenes had thus an opportunity of viewing these fertile regions ; he saw also Palibothra, the capital of India, and the pride of the eastern

world.* He described it as built at the junction of the Ganges with another river of the first magnitude ; as ten miles in length and two in breadth ; the walls furnished with five hundred and seventy-four towers, sixty gates, and a ditch thirty cubits in depth. These dimensions might appear incredible, were we not acquainted with the great extent of ground usually occupied by an Indian city. The army of Sandracottus he described as amounting to four hundred thousand men, of whom there were twenty thousand horse and two thousand chariots. As the narrative of Megasthenes has been lost, only a few scattered notices are preserved, some of which are tinged with the marvellous. He mentions men brought to Sandracottus who had starved themselves to death, and who had their toes turned backwards ; yet this seems to refer to the extraordinary penances and contortions of the Indian devotees. He notices also the extraordinary size and strength of the Bengal tiger. With him seems to have originated a story, repeated by the ancients in many shapes, of large ants which dug gold out of the earth ; though Arrian observes, that this was done only accidentally, in rearing their habita-

* An inquiry into the precise situation of this city, which has greatly perplexed modern inquirers, is reserved for a future chapter.

tions. It seems to refer to the termites or white ants, which rear the same extraordinary fabrics here as in Africa, and who, where the soil happened to be impregnated with gold, might actually produce the phenomenon reported.

With Seleucus terminated the exploration of Asia by conquest. The Roman empire, which soon swallowed up all the rest, had its central seat farther to the west; and, before reaching these eastern regions, it was beginning to exhibit symptoms of unwieldiness and decay. The Parthians, therefore, a nation of brave and skilful warriors, opposed always an invincible barrier to their farther progress. Commerce, however, had received hints, which her active genius, fostered by the most enlightened of Alexander's successors, was not long of improving. The precise steps are not recorded; but it appears certain, that about the beginning of the Christian era, two great lines of commercial intercourse had been fully established; one by sea to India; the other by land across Asia to the borders of China.

The Ptolemies, seated on the throne of Egypt, devoted their most strenuous exertions to the promotion of commerce and geographical discovery. Their immense library contained copies of all the memoirs and documents written by the officers who attended Alexander on his grand

expedition. These, with other materials, were, for the first time, embodied by Eratosthenes, the librarian, into a general system of geography, calculated for the use both of the learned and the mercantile reader. Aided by these lights, and stimulated by their own enterprize, the merchants of Alexandria did not long content themselves with receiving Indian goods by the channel of Arabia Felix. The first recorded voyage to India is said to have been performed by an adventurer of the name of Eudoxus, who afterwards employed all his efforts in attempting to circumnavigate Africa.* The details of his voyage are not given; nor is there any other account of the steps by which the vessels of Egypt found their way into the Indian seas. Our only full knowledge of this navigation is derived from the valuable work entituled, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. The writer bears the name of Arrian, though he does not appear to have been the same with the historian of Alexander, but an Alexandrian merchant, who lived about the time of Claudius. His work is given rather as a nautical and commercial guide, than as the narrative of a voyage; but there appears little doubt that he visited, oftener probably than once, most of

* See Discoveries in Africa.

the places described by him, and that the most valuable of his statements are the result of actual observation.

The port which formed the centre of almost all the Egyptian navigation on the Red Sea, was Berenice, which does not appear now to exist, but was situated nearly in the latitude of Syene. As it would have been too arduous an undertaking for ancient navigators to have steered directly across the Gulf, they began with sailing up to Myos Hormus (somewhat north of Cosseir), whence, by keeping in view Cape Mahomed, they could reach the other side without quite losing sight of land. They touched first at Leuke Kome, or the *fair village*, the modern Moilah. Hence they communicated with Petra, the capital of Edom or Idumea, on the northern border of Judea. This city, while the policy of Egypt remained inimical to commerce, had been the emporium of almost all the commodities of India, whether brought up the Red Sea, or by the caravans across Arabia. Now, however, when this trade had centered in Egypt, and Alexandria was become the commercial metropolis of the world, the port of Leuke Kome had sunk into a secondary mart; though a garrison was still maintained there to collect a duty of twenty-five per cent on all the cargoes landed. After leaving this place they had a long course to

make along a truly dangerous coast, beset with rocks, and affording neither roadstead nor harbour. If they were thrown on the coast, or even approached too near, they were attacked by the barbarous inhabitants, who plundered the vessels and made slaves of the crews. Contrary, therefore, to the general practice of antiquity, they stood as far as possible out to sea, till they came to Gebel Tor, on the borders of the modern Yemen. Here they found a mild and friendly people, subsisting by pasturage and agriculture, and affording full protection to merchants and visitors. The principal port was Moosa, at or near the modern Mocha, which had no harbour, but a good road. The articles of trade were myrrh, gums, and alabaster. Coffee, the modern staple, was not then known.

Below Moosa, the opposite coasts approached each other, and vessels had, on one side, the civilized coast of Arabia, and on the other the barbarous one of Avalites, part of the modern Abyssinia. They then came to a strait (Babelmandeb), with an island in the centre, which afforded a narrow and dangerous passage. At the other side Ocelis, the modern Ghella, presented a good harbour, though with little trade. The sea now widened, and, after sailing a hundred and twenty miles, they came to a port called Arabia Felix, a name probably imposed by the Greeks,

from that which they had given to the country of which it was the capital. It had an excellent harbour, and had been a place of most extensive trade, when the Egyptians received there those commodities which they now went to seek in the ports of India. With a view, probably, of securing the monopoly to Egypt, the Roman emperor had taken the iniquitous measure of causing this place to be entirely destroyed.

Two hundred miles beyond Arabia Felix was Kane, in the modern Macculla Bay, near which there appears to be now a place called Cava Camin. Some trade was carried on here in incense and aloes. These were brought from Sabbathath in the interior, the Schibam of Edrisi. Navigators then came into the extensive Gulf of Sachalites, which seems to have given name to the modern Sahar. The produce of this country was incense, which flourished, it is said, in consequence of the extreme moisture and dampness of the air; but this circumstance rendered the coast unhealthy to those who sailed along it, and pestilential to the inhabitants. They were liable also to suffer from want of food; so that the labour could be performed only by slaves. The incense was piled upon the shore without being covered or guarded. The king, it appears, had found means to spread the belief, that a vessel which should take on board a single grain without his

permission, would not be able to perform its voyage ; and, since this faith is fully received by the intelligent author of the *Periplus*, we cannot doubt its acceptance with the common race of Egyptian shipmasters. Navigators came then to Syagros, called the largest promontory in the world, turned towards the east, with a fort and magazine of incense near it. This has commonly been supposed to be Ras-el-Had, the most easterly point of Arabia ; but Dr Vincent seems to have collected positive *data*, which place it at Cape Fartaque. The coast beyond continued to produce incense ; a great part of it was mountainous, and inhabited by men living in caves. The principal features mentioned are Mosca, a great port, whose name suggests Maskat, though the situation seems to fix it at Seger (or Morebat) ; Asichone (Hasec) ; the islands of Zenobius (Curia-Muria). At length the coast turned northward to the Persian Gulf, which marks the passing of Ras-el-Had. The entrance of the Gulf is justly described to be bordered on each side by very lofty and rugged mountains. The interior is very slightly noticed, nor is there much appearance of its having been actually navigated by Arrian. He mentions, however, that pearl fishery for which its western shore is still famous, confirming, however, the modern observation, that its pearls are not equal to those of India.

He mentions also Apologos, the same, evidently, as Oboleh, which succeeded Teredon, and preceded Bassorah, as the emporium of the Euphrates. On the coast of Caramania he finds Omana, a name which, in modern times, belongs to the opposite coast of Arabia; but whether migration or accident has made this change, or whether the author here committed a mistake, cannot now be determined. He does not dwell much on the southern coast of Persia; and, indeed, there is some appearance as if vessels, by the aid of the monsoon, were in the habit of sailing across without approaching very near to the shore. The first ports entered for the purposes of trade were those situated at the mouth of the Indus, called here Scynthus; they were named Minnagara and Barbarike, the precise positions of which cannot now be fixed. The trade here appears to have been considerable; the exports consisting of silk, cotton, emeralds, sapphires, costus, bdellium, and spikenard. The imports were numerous; and it was necessary to propitiate the favour of the king by liberal presents of the very best wine, cloth, perfumes, plate, musical instruments, and handsome female slaves. After passing the Indus, the first remarkable feature was the Gulf of Eirin, (the modern Cutch), which was then, as now, unfrequented by mariners. Every care was, indeed, taken to avoid it, since the swell was so

great, the shallows so frequent, and the bottom so bad, that, when a vessel was once drawn into it, she might be considered as lost. This coast was fertile, inhabited by black men of large stature, and subject to the same sovereign as Minnagara and Barbarike. After passing Diu head, they sailed northwards up the Gulf of Barygaza. The entrance is described as difficult, which corresponds to modern charts; it was not easy, besides, to find the river, and after finding it, they had to ascend thirty miles before reaching this grand Indian emporium. Arrian remarks the extraordinary violence with which the tide flows here as well as at the mouths of the other Indian rivers. A great extent of land will sometimes be left dry, which before was navigable; and vessels that were entering through a tranquil sea, hear, as it were, the sound of a great army approaching, when suddenly the tide rushes in with tremendous noise, and hurries them often into marshes, where they are in danger of being wrecked. Barygaza was situated in a territory, the capital of which was Ozene (the modern Ougein), but which, like all the coast hitherto passed, was subject to the sovereign of Minnagara. The interior is described as containing vast mountains (the Ghauts), and deserts filled with wild animals and serpents, but, at the same time, inhabited by many populous nations. From

Barygaza the coast stretched directly south, and was called *Dakinabades* (the south country, De-kan). In the interior are two great and opulent cities, though the routes leading to them are very difficult. The first is Plithana, twenty days to the south of Barygaza, supposed by Major Wilford to be the modern Piltanah on the Godaveny. The next city was Tagara, ten days journey beyond, and supposed to be the place afterwards called Deoghir, near the site of the modern Dowlatabad, where the vast excavations of Ellore bear a high stamp of ancient magnificence.

The exports at Barygaza consisted of muslins, cottons, *vasa murrhina* (porcelain), pepper, spike-nard, costus, and bdellium. It was necessary to propitiate the king by the same valuable presents as at Minnagara.

In sailing southwards from Barygaza the navigator found Akabaroos, Oopara, and Kalliena, the last, undoubtedly, at Bombay, opposite to which, on the main, was an ancient city named Gallian. Then follows a long extent of coast, filled with names which cannot now be fixed; but, as it is remarked to be frequented by pirates, it is undoubtedly that of Concan, still called the pirate coast. It terminated at Leuke, the Angedive islands, a little to the south of Goa, after which began the coast of Limyrike, or the modern Canara. This coast is characterized by the three

leading ports of Tyndis, Moosiris, and Nelkynda. The position of these has given rise to much controversy ; but Dr Vincent seems, on the most solid *data*, to have fixed them respectively at Barceloor, Mangaloor, and Nelisuram. The last was the most considerable, and seems to have been the chief emporium of this part of India. The staple export from this coast then, as now, was pepper, called the pepper of Cottonara, to which were added variety of pearls, silk, ivory, betel brought from the interior, spikenard, diamonds, hyacinths, amethysts, other precious stones, and tortoise-shell. This list, including the most valuable of the commodities produced in the countries farther to the east, seems to indicate Nelkynda as the farthest point to which the Roman fleets were accustomed to sail, and where they supplied themselves with the produce of the ulterior regions. This presumption becomes stronger, when we find the writer here introducing an account of the mode of performing the navigation from the mouth of the Red Sea to India. The smaller vessels proceeded along the coast by the circuitous course which has now been delineated ; but the larger ones, availing themselves of the monsoon, steered directly across the ocean to Nelkynda, which they often reached in a few days. The discovery of this monsoon is attributed to a Roman of the name of Hippa-

lus, though it is probable, as Dr Vincent observes, that he only gained the knowledge of it from some of the Arabian or Indian navigators.

The imports from Europe to these different Indian ports were nearly uniform. Then, as afterwards, bullion appears to have been the staple, and was in particular demand at Nelkyn-da, probably with the view of being transmitted into the more eastern countries. The Romans also found a market for woollen cloths in considerable variety; a little wine, particularly Italian; brass, lead, and tin; glass, coral, stibium for painting the eyes, orpiment, and cinnabar.

After passing Nelisuram, the next coast, and the whole southern extremity of the Indian peninsula, is called Paralia, or the kingdom of Pandion; and in fact Pandi Mandale is known in India as an ancient appellation of Madura. No place of consequence is mentioned previous to Comar, (Cape Comorin), where there was a port, harbour, and also a species of convent, where persons of both sexes devoted themselves to celibacy, and to the performance of certain religious rites, said by a recent traveller to be still continued. After Comar begins the great pearl fishery, carried on over all the coast opposite to Ceylon. The diving is said to have been performed by slaves. The coast and capital is called Kolchi. From this point Arrian's view of the Indian coast

becomes exceedingly dim. Almost the only place on that of Coromandel, which can be at all distinctly recognized, is Masalia, which the name, with the abundance and fineness of its cotton cloths, clearly fixes at Masulipatam. To this coast, he observes, are conveyed a great proportion of the woollens, and almost all the specie which are imported from Egypt into Limyrike. He mentions also, that the country on the Ganges is the seat of a great trade, and of the very finest manufactures. Before reaching that river, however, he comes to a people with flat noses, and to another with horses' heads; a sure symptom that he has already attained the highest boundary of his knowledge. Ptolemy, who wrote a century later, shews better information. His tables exhibit the Chaberis, the Cavery; the Mœsolus, which seems to be the Krishna; and his Sorœ, combined with the Indian term Mandel (kingdom), gives Coromandel, the modern name of the coast. After the Ganges occurs the Kirrhadaë, conjectured by Dr Vincent to be the modern Arracan. Then follows the Golden Chersonese, a region dimly celebrated in antiquity, and variously described by writers, under the appellations of the Golden country and the Golden island. Being represented as a peninsula of great extent, it has generally been identified by the moderns with Malacca. M. Gosselin, however, seems to

have clearly shewn, that it ought rather to be considered as the southern extremity of Ava and Pegu. The circumstance of three great estuaries being represented as here discharging their streams into the sea, and the total want of any mention of Sumatra, seems decisive upon this point. Although gold be not the product of any of their shores, yet the temples of Ava and Pegu have always glittered with gold, that metal being lavishly spread over on the walls, roofs, and columns, in the room of any more solid and tasteful ornament. Beyond the Golden Chersonese was a bay of very great extent, called the *Magnus Sinus*, formerly supposed to be the Gulf of Siam, but which must now be considered as the Gulf of Martaban. Its great magnitude forms a difficulty in the new hypothesis ; but its winding form might amplify it to the size of the navigator ; and if he sailed directly across to Tavoy Point, its mouth might appear very considerable.

After passing the "Great Bay," navigators sailed southwards along the coast of the *Sinæ*, whom the early moderns generally identified with the Chinese ; but, upon M. Gosselin's principle, this must be the coast of Siam. At length they came to a great maritime emporium, called *Cattigara*, which formed, upon this coast, the boundary of Roman knowledge. It was probably at, or near Tenasserim ; and in the interior was a great capi-

tal called Thinaë. Thinaë was a celebrated and mysterious name in ancient geography ; but, reserving abstruse discussions for a future occasion, we may infer it to be the capital of Siam, placed not far perhaps from its present situation. Ptolemy mentions that he had met with no one who had actually performed the voyage to Cattigara, and that this distant seaport was known to him only by hearsay.

It may be finally observed, that M. Gosselin, in his latest work, expresses a belief, that confused reports of the peninsula of Malacca, and of the Gulf of Siam, may have mingled with those of the Golden Chersonese and of the " Great Bay," and may have led to an extension of those features beyond their real dimensions. Without attempting to decide on so delicate a conjecture, we may consider it as certain, that no knowledge existed in antiquity, of any navigation extending as far as the Chinese coast.

It was not, however, by sea only that Europeans, after the time of Alexander, extended their knowledge of Eastern Asia. The conquered countries in that direction continued to be swayed by the Greek dynasty of the Seleucidæ ; and though India, it is probable, paid only a precarious tribute, Bactria was fully subject to the kings of Syria. Even after it shook off the yoke, the kingdom was occupied by one of their lieutenants,

who established a great and flourishing state, which he transmitted to his posterity during several generations. No circumstance could be more favourable for an extended intercourse with the remotest extremities of the continent. Bactria may be considered as the key of central Asia; it is the link between the east and the west; the rendezvous of almost all the caravans employed in its inland commerce. These advantages were improved into the formation of a great mercantile communication across the whole breadth of Asia, beginning at Byzantium, and reaching to the Seres, the remotest people known to antiquity, whom the historians of Alexander heard of only by faint and fabulous rumour. The details of this great inland route are however wanting, and it is only incidentally that Ptolemy has traced the following outline of it.

In setting out from Byzantium, the caravan proceeded first nearly due east through Asia Minor, to the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis (now Membgis, about twenty miles south of Beer). Proceeding still east, and crossing the Tigris, they came to Ecbatana, still a flourishing modern city under the name of Hamadan. Thence, in the same direction, they passed through the Caspian Gates, and came to Hecatompylos, the capital of Parthia, supposed to be the modern Daumghaun. It was now necessary to turn

northwards into Hyrcania (the modern province of Astrabad), and to pass through the capital of the same name, called afterwards Hurkaun (now Jorjan). The course took next a bend to the south, in order to reach Aria (the modern Herat), which has always been a great centre of Asiatic commerce. A long route, almost due north, was now to be made, in order to reach Antioch, the capital of Margiana, a city founded by Alexander, and called at present Meru Shah Jehan. The line again became nearly east, till their arrival at Bactria. Soon after they took a north-east direction, probably up the course of the Oxus, and they had then to ascend the mountains of the Comedi (the modern Beloor). Finding themselves at the top, in the elevated plain of Pamere, they followed its direction, which carried them south-east into Little Thibet. They then proceeded northwards, apparently tracing upwards the course of the river of Ladauk. They came next to a remarkable feature called the Stone Tower, of which, however, no description is given. At some distance beyond, was a grand rendezvous of the merchants, who assembled there for the purpose of surmounting, by their united efforts, a formidable barrier which there presented itself. This was the great range of Imaus, which is described by Ptolemy as first passing eastward along the frontier of India, then

turning north, and stretching far into Scythia, which vast region it divided into two portions, Scythia within, and Scythia without Imaus. This Scythian Imaus is probably the range delineated in our maps under the name of the Mooz Taugh, which the Indians consider in fact as a mere branch of the Himalaya.

From the above mentioned rendezvous of the caravans, no farther details of the road are given; and it is only mentioned, that the journey from thence to the capital of Serica, occupied a period of seven months. This certainly afforded time sufficient to carry the travellers into the very heart of China. A brief sketch of the proofs that Serica is China, and that the remoter caravan stations are as above supposed, will be afterwards introduced. We may here only remark the very striking similarity between what China then was, and what it is now. The Seres are represented as a nation, above all others frugal, quiet, sedate, and tranquil; as peculiarly unwarlike, and averse to the use of arms; as studiously shunning all intercourse with other nations, whom they scarcely permitted to enter their territory; as carrying on trade only at one frontier station; as selling their commodities for money only, without receiving foreign articles in return. The commercial staple of Serica was silk, the culture of which was quite unknown to the western na-

tions. Silk is recorded to have been at one time sold in Rome for its weight in gold ; but the opening of the great inland communication reduced it so low, as to render it accessible even to the inferior classes of society. But the overthrow of the Greek kingdom of Bactria, the decline of the Roman empire, the irruption of the barbarous nations, soon rendered it no longer possible for the merchants to carry on these distant expeditions. The regions of eastern Asia then sunk into a state of oblivion, till they were destined, after many ages, and under new names, to become grand objects of modern discovery.

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERIES OF THE ARABIANS.

*Rise of the Mahomedan Power.—Arabian Geographers.—
Their Description of the Countries upon the Oxus and Jax-
artes.—India.—China.—The two Mahomedan Travellers.
—Benjamin of Tudela.*

AMONG all the sudden revolutions which have shaken the East, none ever produced a change at once so rapid and so lasting, as that effected by the followers and successors of Mahommed. The united enthusiasm of religion and arms carried at once a new system of faith, government, and manners, into the remotest regions of Asia. The impression once given has continued unaltered during thirteen centuries ; and half the extent of Asia still continues Mahomedan. The first caliphs were altogether ignorant and bigotted ; but their successors soon began to cultivate letters and every species of information : they were then the means of diffusing Arabic, and, in some degree, Grecian learning, through a great part of the continent. Geography appears to have been a favourite pursuit among the learned Arabians ;

and, indeed, its study would be both prompted and facilitated by that wandering and commercial character which the nation have always combined with their predatory habits. They soon, therefore, acquired a more extensive knowledge with respect to the eastern parts of the world, than had been possessed by Rome during her most flourishing era; and, even amid the boasted extension of modern travel, their accounts of some parts of the interior of Asia, as well as of Africa, are still the most recent and authentic to which we can appeal. There is one district to which this observation is peculiarly applicable.

From the north-west extremity of India, nearly at right angles to the Himmaleh, a range of immense mountains, under the names of Pamere and Beloor, extends northwards nearly to the frontier of Siberia. The greater part is bleak, dreary, and covered with snow; but westward from it to the Aral, which forms the receptacle of its waters, is a region composed chiefly of vast plains, watered by the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and their numerous tributaries. This tract has been touched by modern travellers only at a few points; and, since it ceased to send its conquering squadrons to the south, has sunk almost into total oblivion. Writers, however, who had the best opportunities of observation, have painted it as the paradise of Asia. It may be considered as

almost the only example of the finest temperate climate occurring on that continent, which presents, generally, an abrupt transition from the burning tropical heat to the extreme cold of the north. The Arabians knew it well under the uncouth name of Mawarelnahar; and they are never weary of expatiating in its praise. According to Ibn Haukal, there are three spots on the globe which surpass all the rest in beauty and fertility. These are, the Ghutah of Damascus, the banks of the Aileh, and the plain of Samarcand; but while the two former are only small detached spots, the last is a large country, equally beautiful all over. Abulfeda enthusiastically calls it "the most delightful of all places which God created." The populousness is said to be such, that one of the kings had declared, that an army of three hundred thousand horse, and the same number of foot, could be drawn from it without the country suffering by their absence. The character of the people is extolled in terms equally lavish. They are described as men of virtue, fond of peace, and averse to quarrels. Hospitality is practised to an extent, "as if the whole land were one house." Even the poorest have an apartment set aside for the reception of strangers; and, when any one arrives, contend with each other for the satisfaction of entertaining him. The rich, instead of spending

their fortunes in luxury and ostentation, employ it in erections for the benefit of travellers, particularly in bridges and caravanseras ; which last are found even in the heart of deserts, and are supposed, throughout the territory of Samarcand, to amount in all to two thousand.

In the description of the Arabian writers, this region appears to be filled with splendid cities, of few of which even the names are known to modern geography. Abulfeda begins with Bokhara, which he represents as peculiarly well built, surrounded by a wall twelve parasangas in extent, and enclosing fields, villas, and gardens. This place is called by Bakoui, “ the rendezvous and “ abode of the learned.” Near it was Al-tawawis, a place formerly full of gardens, and finely watered ; also remarkable for the number of learned men whom it had produced, but now destroyed. Bicand, a day’s journey from Bokhara, was a well fortified town, and contained a splendid temple, with the finest portico in this part of Asia. Samarcand was the capital of the country and its largest city. It was an industrious and commercial place. The paper manufactured there gave a higher price than any produced elsewhere ; and it was a mart for the commodities of distant regions, particularly the musk of Thibet, and the most precious furs and skins ; though the writers do not seem exactly to know

whence these last were derived. Near Samarcand was Cash, a city watered by two great rivers, and having suburbs still larger and more beautiful than those of Samarcand. The country round was fertile, and produced the earliest fruits of all this region; but, from its low situation, it was subject to the plague. Ashtikan was another city, equal to Samarcand in extent, though not in population, and surrounded with the most delightful villas and gardens.

From the banks of the Oxus, the Arabian writers proceed northwards to those of the Jaxartes, which they represent as not less distinguished by beauty, fertility, and population. Al-Shash is described as a most splendid city, containing within its jurisdiction twenty-five others, also large, though their names are so barbarous that Abulfeda declines attempting to enumerate them. Ilak, a large walled city, also the capital of an extensive and beautiful district. Esfijah, a large and strong city on the confines of the Turks. Khojandah (Khojund) and Kowakand (Koukan) are also mentioned as large cities.

On passing the great range of mountains which forms the eastern boundary of this portion of Asia, the country of Turkestan occurs. Cashgar is described as the capital, a large town, which had produced many men distinguished in every branch of literature. Khoten is also men-

tioned as of great magnitude, and much talked of by merchants. Both these places have been recognized by the few modern travellers who have proceeded by this great land route to China.

Asia, to the north of the regions now mentioned, is described as entirely in possession of the Turks. Turk, with them, is a widely diffused term, applied, as that of Scythians by the ancients, and of Tartars with us, to designate all the Nomadic tenants of those extensive regions. They seem already to have been viewed with no small portion of dread and horror. Bakoui describes them as living partly in tents and partly in villages; as brave, hardy, and having the air of wild beasts; their face broad, their nose flat; "they are furious, unjust, and live like beasts." The Tartars are mentioned as a race of Turks farther to the north, and still more savage. "They resemble beasts; their heart is hard; their character bad; they are without faith or religion." The Baschkirs, and even the Russians, are also described as Turks. Beyond all these nations, some dim notices were obtained of people living on the "sea of darkness," the name given by the Arabians to the Frozen Sea, considered as a part of the great ocean surrounding and terminating the earth. These people are described as enjoying, through the summer, an almost uninterrupted day, the sun being seldom

beneath the horizon, while, in winter, they have a night of equal length; as travelling over vast deserts, where the snow never melts; as subsisting by hunting and fishing, particularly the latter, the sea throwing in fishes of very great magnitude, which they cut into slices and use as food. These tolerably correct ideas are mixed with others of a very wild and fabulous description. This extremity of Asia was considered as the castle of two imaginary beings, called Gog and Magog. The first mention of them occurs in the prophecy of Ezekiel, where they appear to be applied to the desolating hordes of Scythians, who had made repeated inroads into Persia and Assyria. Arabian fancy had transformed them into two enormous giants, who had reared a stupendous castle, and held extensive rule in some part of the north of Asia. Edrisi has preserved a very curious narrative of a mission sent by one of the caliphs to explore the site of this mysterious castle. The messengers proceeded first along the shores of the Caspian, and then spent two months in traversing a vast desert, till they came to what appeared to be the object of their search. Their picture of it is formidable. A wall formed of masses of iron cemented with brass rose to the top of a mountain, and seemed to touch the skies. The gate was fifty cubits high, also of iron, and secured by bolts and bars

of enormous magnitude. Whether this be an exaggerated account of some fortified pass in the mountains, or whether their invention was exercised to satisfy the expectations of the employer, it were difficult to decide. This range of mountains, if it existed, seems to have formed part of the Altai, since they made their return by Samarcand.

From these bleak northern regions we pass to the great eastern empires of India and China. Indostan, however, was recognized, not in the aggregate, but under the two divisions of Sind, or the provinces bordering on the Indus, and Hind, or those watered by the Ganges. Mansoura is mentioned as the chief port on the Indus, or Mehran, as it is called; but Moultan appears to have been the capital of Sind. Much is said of a great temple there, called "the golden house," to which people flocked from all parts of India with great riches and offerings. The idol was entirely covered with a red garment like Morocco leather, so that nothing was seen but the face. Cashmire and its beautiful region, enclosed within immense mountains, was also known to them. Bakoui gives, indeed, a most exaggerated account when he says, that it contained sixty thousand towns and villages. In Hind, the prominent feature was the dominion of the Balahara, whose name is said to signify "king of

“kings,” and who was, in fact, the mightiest monarch of that region. Considerable doubt has been entertained respecting the seat of his empire. I should presume it to be in Bahar. Abulfeda mentions the country of Behara, which is certainly Bahar; and where, says he, is “the palace of the king of kings.” Later writers describe Kanouche as the capital of India, and the seat of its most powerful monarch. Edrisi passes a panegyric upon the natives of India, for their integrity and inviolable fidelity in all contracts; a feature which modern observers have not confirmed. He gives, however, as an instance, that the creditor, when he does not receive payment, draws a line round his debtor, beyond which the latter never attempts to stir till the debt is discharged. This is probably suggested by the remarkable custom of sitting *dhurna*.

The coast of Malabar, with its different divisions, and its produce of pepper, is described with tolerable accuracy. Coromandel, with its fine manufactories, is also mentioned under the name of Mobbar, or Mabbar, which it bore also with the earlier European travellers. The Arabs were aware that there were great countries and islands between India and China; but they are unable to give any distinct account of them, or even to discern clearly what is continent and what island. Sumatra, with its produce of cam-

phor, seems mentioned under the names of Lameri and Zanedge. The name of Al Djavah occurs, and Edrisi speaks of the great isle of Malai. In order to fill up these regions, however, he is obliged to introduce Cattigara, Sinia Sinarum, and other features evidently borrowed from Ptolemy.

China was known to the Arabs under the name of Seen. Edrisi, however, is unable to give any details of it whatever; although there existed already materials for that purpose in the Arabian language. Bakoui, an Asiatic writer, is more successful. He describes the Chinese as a small people with large heads, as dressed in silk, and skilful in the arts. He mentions the manufacture of porcelain, with the fabulous addition of its being an antidote against poison. He adds, that he had found in his author other wonders which he declines repeating.

China, however, had already, in the ninth century, been well described in a work which gives an interesting and advantageous view of Arabic knowledge and commerce. I allude to that translated from the Arabic by M. Renaudot, under the title of Travels of two Mahommedans in India and China. These were written successively; and one of them forms a species of comment or supplement to the other. The description of China is such as, owing to the permanence of

institutions and manners in that empire, might, even now, be considered as accurate. They mention the manufacture of porcelain, described as an excellent kind of earth, of which is made a ware as fine and transparent as glass; the universal custom of drinking, infused in hot water, an herb called tcha (tea), which is supposed to cure every disease; the use of rice as the staple article of food, and the manufacture from it of a strong liquor. We learn from them also the extensive cultivation of silk, and the prevailing use of it in the dresses of all ranks. They mention the general knowledge of reading and writing; also the strictness of the police, the care with which crimes are prevented or punished, and the copious application of the bamboo for that purpose; to which they add the more culpable custom, by which government, in every city, license and pay a certain number of courtezans. The deficiency of cleanliness in the people, and their inordinate habits of gaming, are also touched upon. We may add the exclusive circulation of copper money; the large revenue levied on salt; and, as a minor object, the official use of drums and bells. So many curious particulars, thus accurately narrated, leave no doubt as to the genuineness of the Travels, and the intelligence of those by whom they are narrated.

The empire of Indostan is by no means described in equal detail. The greatest prince there is said to be the Balhara, already mentioned, who ranks at least second among the monarchs of the world, and whose dominions are said to reach as far as China. The extraordinary penances of the Indian devotees could not escape notice. They describe them as a class of men living in the woods and mountains, almost or wholly naked, subsisting on herbs and fruits, and despising all that is most valued by other men. In quitting India they left one man with his face constantly turned upward on the sun, and returning sixteen years afterwards, found him fixed in the very same position.

These travellers describe many great islands and countries between India and China ; but it is not easy to recognize or identify the names which they assign to them. Zapage suggests the Zipangu of Marco Polo, or Ceylon. Mujet, a country full of huge mountains with white tops, and producing the best musk in the world, appears evidently to be Thibet. Mabed, a populous region closely bordering on China, appears to answer the description of Ava. The Andaman islands are distinctly mentioned with exaggerated features of barbarism and anthropophagy. It would be difficult to carry conjecture further ; and the navigators apparently sailed from India

to China, without paying much attention to the objects which presented themselves on the way.

The twelfth century produced another narrative of a somewhat anomalous character, which, for want of any class to which it can be regularly referred, I crave permission to introduce here. This is the work of a Spanish Jew, commonly called Benjamin of Tudela, or Rabbi Benjamin, who has left a relation of his Travels through various parts of Europe, Africa, but more particularly Asia. It has been doubted, as in so many other cases, whether these travels were really performed, or are not merely a compilation made by the author. It is difficult, considering the distant and obscure period of the publication, to arrive at any positive conclusion. We may only observe, that there were neither the same means nor the same temptation to compile then, as now ; and, though there might be materials within reach, relative to the Holy Land, I do not know how he could have described so many other countries, without actual peregrination.

The information contained in this narrative is the less interesting, as the primary object of the author always is, to describe the number and condition of the Jews whom he found in all the places visited. The Holy Land, in this respect, afforded him little satisfaction. Jerusalem appears to have been then under the sway of the Latin kings, so

that he describes it as filled with "Franks of all the languages of the Gentiles." The Jews inhabited a mere corner of the city, though they had a manufactory, with an exclusive privilege, for the dyeing of woollens. There were large establishments called hospitals, which, besides tending the sick and wounded, put forth four hundred men completely armed and equipped. He found no Jews at Samaria nor at Nebilus (Naplous). At Bethlehem there were twelve employed in dyeing wool. In the mountainous districts he found the Dogziim (Druses) "who dwell in
"the caves and holes of the rocks, being subject
"to no king or prince, but lead their lives wildly,
"living among the highest mountains and steepest
"rocks." No Jews reside among them, but some come occasionally to dye cloths, and "are most
"courteously and lovingly entertained." They believe, he says, in the transmigration of souls. He was much struck with the beauty of New Tyrus (Sour), which he thinks the most commodious haven in the world. The customs were collected by a brazen chain thrown across the entrance. At "the distance of a stone's-cast out
"of a sling," he says, "is Old Tyrus overwhelm-
"ed; but, if any one please to take sea in a skiffe,
"he seeth the towers, market-places, streets, and
"palaces in the bottom." Damascus he represents as "exceeding great and very fair," the whole

country wonderfully beautified with gardens and paradises. It contains three thousand Jews, who are said to be both learned and rich. In crossing the desert to Bagdad, he passed by Thadmur (Tadmor or Palmyra), where he asserts that there are four thousand Jews. Bagdad he represents as a great city, the residence of the Calipha. This prince appears to have lived in great seclusion, appearing to the people only once a-year, though the pilgrims going to Mecca, after much entreaty, have his garment handed over from a window to kiss. He had, however, a most splendid palace, adorned with gold, silver, and jewels, and kept a wood of great extent, in which were "all kinds of trees of the whole world, both fruitful and barren." He is said to be learned and religious, "and most courteously saluteth and speaketh unto all men." There are here about one thousand Jews, "living in great quietness and peace." From Bagdad Benjamin proceeded to Bassora, and thence nearly in a northern direction through Persia, where he seems to have found the Jewish population much more numerous. He passed by the ruins of Susa on the river Kerah, which he supposes to be the Tigris. In this neighbourhood there are said to be seven thousand Jews, and fourteen synagogues. He came next to Robad-bar (Korumabad?) where he found twenty thousand Jews. The next large

place was Amaria (possibly Kermanshaw), situated at the foot of a great range of mountains, inhabited by that sect of Jews who are called Ismaelites. He mentions here a singular story, confirmed by other authorities, of one David Elsoi, who had set up for the Messiah, and threatened the conquest of India, and even of all the East. This movement was discouraged by all the most respectable heads of the Jewish nation, who dreaded its drawing down upon them the vengeance of the King of Persia; and that monarch having succeeded in procuring the assassination of the pretender, the other Jews, by dint of presents and submission, succeeded in mollifying him.

Benjamin now turning westward, came in ten days to Hamadan, then a very great city, which he represents as containing fifty thousand Jews. From Hamadan he went by Dabrestan to Ispahan, already the capital of the empire, and containing twelve thousand Jews, including the "head of the captivity." Beyond Ispahan is Siaphaz and Ginah, two places which it seems impossible to identify; and beyond these Samarcand, called the remotest place of Persia, and a famous city, where he asserts there are fifty thousand Jews. He now mentions Thibet, and the musk which it produces, but errs widely in placing it only four days journey beyond Samarcand. Here fol-

lows a very apocryphal account of a nation of Jews situated in the north, with whom the King of Persia had waged an unsuccessful war; also of their neighbours, the Copheral Turks, who eat raw flesh, and have no noses, but merely two holes in the face through which they breathe. This last feature, however, may pass as a caricature of the extreme flatness of the Mongal nose. Upon the whole, however, it seems very doubtful if our author ever travelled beyond Ispahan.

In his return from these countries, Benjamin states that he came to Khusistan, and to the banks of the Tigris, which, in its passage to the sea, encompasses Nekrokis, an island six days journey in extent. The learned have perplexed themselves much about this island, but it appears to me that it must be the territory of Irak Arabi, nearly enclosed between the Euphrates and Tigris, which he describes as carrying on that extensive trade with India, Arabia, and Persia, which has been always centered in some port near the mouth of this river. Thence he sailed to Katipha (el Katif), and describes the fishery of pearls on this coast, though he favours us with a very erroneous theory of their formation. The rest of his course is very dark, but it appears to have included a voyage to India, where he mentions the practice of burning the dead, of self-immolation, and the growth of pepper. He adds, that a voyage of

forty days leads to the coast of Tzin or China. How he found his way back to Arabia is not very clear; but, on entering the Red Sea, he sailed "to the Indies on the opposite coast," by which it soon appears that he means Ethiopia. His narrative from this time has no farther reference to any part of Asia.

BOOK I.

GENERAL TRAVELS THROUGH ASIA.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY EUROPEAN EMBASSIES INTO TARTARY.

The Tartars.—Conquests of Zingis and his dynasty.—Embassies from the Pope.—Ascelin.—Carpini.

FROM the sea which washes the eastern shores of Asia, westward as far as the confines of Germany, across nearly the whole of one hemisphere, an uninterrupted expanse of level plain, like an ocean, extends itself. To this the ancients, at all the points where they came in contact with it, applied the vast and vague name of Scythia ; while the moderns, after severing the European part, but with enlarged knowledge of the Asiatic, gave it the equally wide appellation of Tartary. The whole, till the genius of Peter impressed a new

character on some portion of it, continued, from the earliest records, to exhibit one uniform aspect. The inhabitants had already emerged from the hunting state, and supported themselves by pasturage ; but, defects of soil, climate, and government, always prevented them from entering on agricultural pursuits. To the inhabitant of a civilized country, the pastoral state suggests only pleasing ideas. The hut of the shepherd seems the abode of innocence, gentleness, and rural simplicity ; and the picture, after due allowance for poetic colouring, is not quite illusory. Perhaps even it may not be inapplicable, in their retired and domestic state, to the tenants of the Scythian wilds ;—but when they are formed into vast assemblages, and acted upon by ambitious chiefs, a very different scene arises. Trained from infancy to the use of arms, they imbibe, in all its fury, the spirit of war, and are easily impelled to the spoil of happier regions, in which nature seems unjustly to have lavished goods, of which their sword renders *them* the rightful possessors. In rude tribes, the laws of war are always cruel ; but the pastoral nations, destitute of all the refinements of civilization, are strangers to humanity and mercy ; and even nations whose military code is considered by us as barbarous, speak with horror of Scythian devastation. The series of invasions, therefore, which have poured

down from these regions, have always numbered among the most dreadful calamities to which the human race is liable ; they have been compared to a scourge, which the Deity holds continually in his hand, to chastise the crimes of mankind. In a rude state of the military art, bodily strength and prowess form the leading qualifications ; hence the Scythians, who live as it were on horseback, and are inured to every vicissitude of the seasons, proved always an overmatch for the effeminate natives of Southern Asia. The great empires have thus been long subjected to Scythian and Tartar dynasties ; and, as these were successively enervated by wealth and luxury, new northern swarms poured in to occupy their place. One sweep was usually sufficient to drive from his seat the effeminate monarch of Delhi and Ispahan. But the Roman empire, cast in a firmer mould, and having carried the military art to a perfection before unknown, long resisted and repelled these formidable assailants. The mighty tide of invasion, however, continued to roll on, wave over wave, from the farthest depths of interior Asia, till Rome, with all her greatness and all her glory, was buried beneath it. Already the eastern empire drew faintly its expiring breath ; and the moment was fast approaching when the imperial city was to be trampled under foot by the hordes of Northern Asia.

After the successive inundations of Goths, or Huns, and of Turks, which had poured from that grand storehouse of nations, it might have been expected that an interval of exhaustion would follow, and that the world would enjoy a pause of tranquillity. This hope was soon dispelled; for, of all these mighty destroyers of mankind, none ever equalled the power and terror of the name of *Zingis*. This daring chief appears to have been originally little more than a private individual among the Mogul tribe to the north of China. His countrymen being engaged in a war with their neighbours, elected him for their commander. He vanquished them; and enlisting under his standard the tribes whom he subdued, was soon able to attack, with success, the opulent and defenceless empire of China. Europe then attracted his eye; and his hordes swept across nearly the entire breadth of the known world, till they reached the frontier of Germany. Zingis himself died on the shores of the Caspian; but his successors overran Russia, Poland, Hungary, and then entered Silesia. Europe was struck with inexpressible terror at this new enemy, thrown up, as it were, from the depth of an unknown world. Their immense numbers, and the rapidity of their movements, rendered it alike vain to fly or to resist; and the countries swept by this human tempest were converted at once

from the fair abodes of man into smoking deserts. Rumour and fancy magnified even the terrible truth. It was reported, that the wretched and unsuspecting inhabitants were not only slaughtered without mercy, but their bodies devoured with ravenous avidity, “the Tartars glutting themselves as with delicious cates;” so that, when the fragments were at length abandoned to the vultures, those birds of prey found the bones so thoroughly picked, that they turned from them with disdain. The people of that age, ignorant of the real distance and position of countries, were bewildered and amazed, and knew not when or where they might encounter the destroyers. It may be mentioned as an instance, that the Danes were thus deterred, for one season, from setting out for the herring-fishery on the coast of Scotland.

The Tartars were met by the Duke of Silesia; but that unfortunate prince and his whole army, after a most gallant resistance, were entirely cut to pieces. The Tartars, however, were somewhat stunned by this first encounter with the chivalry of Europe. When they heard, therefore, that the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and other chiefs, were approaching with a mighty army, “that accursed crew immediately vanished,” and they retired with the same rapidity as they had ad-

vanced, into the interior of Poland and Russia. They departed, however, with loud threats of speedily returning ; and though the tide of desolation was for a moment rolled back, it was believed to be only collecting new strength, that it might flow on with a more mighty and irresistible current. Europe, therefore, continued still bound in the spell of terror ; for this new enemy moved with such unparalleled swiftness, as not to afford a moment's security against his threatened return. In this crisis, the Pope, as the spiritual ruler of Europe, felt himself called upon to make some effort for delivering the Christian world from so tremendous a scourge. For this purpose, he could employ only embassy ; and his choice of ambassadors fell naturally upon churchmen, who, indeed, were then the persons usually invested with diplomatic functions. Besides the peril which menaced the eastern frontier of Europe, the Tartars were advancing through Persia to attack the possessions which successful crusade had placed in the hands of the Christians in Syria and the Holy Land. To this last quarter were despatched a body of friars of the order of St Francis ; at the head of whom was Ascelin, accompanied by Simon de St Quintin, Alexander, and Albert. The other embassy was composed of what were called Friars Preachers ; the principal of whom was John de Plano Carpini, attend-

ed by a Polish friar of the name of Benedict. Whatever we may think of the judgment with which their mission was performed, it is impossible not to admire the intrepidity with which they faced hunger, thirst, cold, slavery, and death, in execution of this strange and perilous mission.

WE shall begin with relating the result of the mission of Ascelin and his companions of the Franciscan order. These personages appear to have been taken from the depth of conventual life, without the least idea of the business of life, or of the mode of dealing with mankind. Their only qualification was an awful and unbounded veneration for the Pope, who appeared to them raised to an infinite height above other mortals, and to whose will, when they should announce it, it appeared to them that the mightiest monarchs were bound, and might be expected, to pay implicit obedience. With these dispositions, they set out in search of an army of Tartars. They found one, accordingly, on the northern frontier of Persia, and marched up to the camp in a very intrepid manner. As soon as the friars were seen approaching, several of the Mogul chiefs advanced to meet them, and demanded who they were or whence they came. Ascelin replied, that he was ambassador from the Pope, the head of the Christian world, throughout the whole of

which he was regarded as a father. At this response, visible dissatisfaction appeared in the countenances of the Tartars; however, they merely said, in an ironical tone: “ Since your
“ Pope is so great a personage, he will doubtless
“ know that the Khan is the son of God, by
“ whom the dominion of the earth has been com-
“ mitted to him; and that he has ordered Bathy
“ in the north, and Baiothnoy here, to receive
“ similar honours with himself.” The friar had so little judgment as to make the following reply: He said, “ that the Pope had never heard of the
“ Khan, or of Baiothnoy, or of Bathy, and had
“ not the remotest idea that there existed any
“ such persons. All he knew was, that there was
“ a strange and barbarous people, called Tartars,
“ who came ravaging and destroying all whom
“ they met, particularly Christians; and his pur-
“ pose was to exhort them, that they should re-
“ pent of their past wickedness, and cease to de-
“ stroy the people of God.” However ungracious this reply might appear, it was received without any comment, and immediately conveyed to the Khan. The Tartars then changed their clothes, and came out to ask what presents the ambassadors brought from the Pope to their master. The friars, with the same courtesy and prudence as before, answered, “ that their master
“ was accustomed to receive presents from all

“men, but never to give any to his best friends, “far less to strangers and infidels.” This was contrary to every idea prevalent in the East, where the smallest chieftain expects that no one shall approach without some present. The Tartars, however, made still no remark, but merely carried in the report to Baiothnoy. Having changed their clothes a second time, they again came out, asking, how they dared to present themselves before their master without making a present, as was done by every one else? The friar stated, that the rule was irrevocable; but that if they could not obtain admission, they would deliver their letters, which the chiefs themselves might present to Baiothnoy. The Tartars, however, said that they might have an audience, provided they would conform to the Khan’s regulation, by which all who approached him or any of his deputies were directed to make three genuflexions before him. The ambassadors being visibly startled by the proposal, a Cremonese friar, who had resided here for some time, stepped forward and assured them, that this ought by no means to be considered as an act of worship, but merely as a mark of respect, which was paid by every one to the prince as a mighty sovereign. The friars, however, having retired for a consultation, decided, that it would be a ground of shame to themselves, and of scandal to all

Christendom, if they should perform such an act of idolatry to a heathen ; and that they would endure every extremity rather than submit to it. This resolution they announced to the Tartars, adding, however, if their prince and themselves would become Christians, that, for the honour of the church, they would perform the required genuflexions. At this proposition, the rage of the Tartars, which had hitherto been covered under a veil of decorum, burst all bounds. They told them that they would be sorry, indeed, to make themselves Christian dogs like them ; and froze them with horror by adding, that the Pope was a dog. Ascelin, attempting to reply to these invectives, was silenced by loud cries and menaces ; and the chiefs immediately repaired to the council which had been called by Baiothnoy, in order to deliberate on the treatment which might appear best merited by the deportment of the embassy.

At this assembly a considerable diversity of opinion prevailed. Some were of opinion, that the friars should be flayed alive, and that their skins, stuffed with hay, should be sent to the Pope ; others suggested, that they might be kept till the next battle with the Christians, and placed in the front of it, so as to fall by the hands of their own countrymen. A third advised, that they should be whipped through the camp

and forthwith put to death. To Baiothnoy, in his present mood, the most prompt punishment appeared the most eligible; he therefore issued orders that sentence of death should be executed, without a moment's delay, upon the whole party. In this fearful predicament, an interposition was made by that female humanity which has so often been the subject of just panegyric. The principal wife of Baiothnoy, hearing of the fate which impended over these unhappy strangers, ran to her husband, and finding him inaccessible to pity, endeavoured to move him by motives addressed to his interest. She represented the disgrace which he would incur by thus violating the law of nations; and that many who now repaired to him with homage and presents, would be deterred from coming. She reminded him of the deep displeasure expressed by the Khan at his treatment of a former ambassador, whose heart he had caused to be plucked out, and had rode round the camp with it fastened to the tail of his horse. By these arguments, and by earnest entreaty, she at length obtained his consent to spare the lives of the friars. The chiefs, however, again waited upon them to negotiate as to the measure of respect which they were willing to pay to their Prince. The friar stated, that partially taking off their bonnets, and bowing the head, was the utmost extent which

their conscience could permit them to go. The chiefs, however, were deeply scandalized to see them kneeling before their crucifix, and exclaimed, You worship wood and stone, and will you not do the same to the representative of the ruler of mankind? It was then proposed, that they should set out for the court of the Great Khan, the magnificence of which, they were assured, would enable them to form an adequate idea of the Tartarian empire. Ascelin, however, who thought he had seen quite enough of Tartar courts, declared that his mission was not to the Khan, but to the first army which he might happen to meet, and having fulfilled his instructions, nothing but force should induce him to go further. After repeated urgency the proposal was dropped.

At length Baiothnoy permitted the letters to be presented to him, and gave directions to have them interpreted. Nothing remained but to give the answers, and the embassy fondly hoped that their sufferings were drawing to a period. Four days after, however, they began to inquire if they were to be furnished with their letters and guides; when the chiefs said, that, as they had felt so much curiosity respecting a Tartar army, it would be much better to wait till some reinforcements arrived, which would enable them to view the present one in a complete state. Ascelin solemn-

ly protested, that he had not the remotest wish to see more Tartars than he had already seen :— but he soon found that there was no serious intention of dismissing them. Meantime, not only were they treated on all occasions as if they had been the refuse of mankind, or rather as belonging to the brute creation ; but invention was kept always on the stretch to discover new modes of harassing and annoying them. No provisions were allowed but black bread and sour milk, and that in such scanty portions, that they laboured often under the most extreme and doleful inanition. A favourite amusement consisted in the Prince sending for them early in the morning, as if to have an immediate audience, when they were kept the whole day standing at the outside of the tent, and scorched by the rays of a tropical sun, without food or shelter, till evening, when they were fain to return to their home. The Tartars took peculiar delight in taunting them on the subject of the Pope, which appeared always to be the most sensible point. They asked how many armies this Prince maintained, and what was the number of each ? how many battles he had gained ? how many kingdoms he had conquered ? and finally, whether he had any kingdom at all ? No satisfactory answers being returned to any one of their questions, they indignantly enquired, how they could presume to compare such

a personage to the Great Khan, who had subdued kingdoms innumerable, and whom the remotest extremities of the East and of the West obeyed? Ascelin laboured hard to give them an idea of the spiritual nature of the Papal dominion; but found it impossible to inspire these “barbarous” and brutal men” with any due respect for such a potentate.

The unfortunate friars were thus detained for several months at the Tartar camp, daily, but in vain, imploring their dismissal. The Khan, meanwhile, not only caused every kind of insult and contempt to be heaped upon them, but shewed repeatedly a disposition to put them to death. These severities he justified, by alleging the rude answers they returned to every question that was put to them; and, though the Tartars protest that they never said a word which could justly give offence, yet, as they have recorded some of their answers, the reader may judge between them and Baiothnoy. However, that Prince at length listened to their earnest entreaty, and ordered the letters to be prepared. He changed his mind, however, and directed them to be kept till a personage of the name of Auguta should arrive from the Great Khan. Their miseries were thus prolonged for three weeks longer, till the appearance of Auguta, who, having performed all the ceremonies refused by the friars, was re-

ceived with every mark of joy and cordiality. A scene of barbarous festivity now began. Koumiss had been copiously prepared for the occasion; and they continued for seven successive days, drinking, dancing, and howling, without the least apparent recollection that the friars existed.

At the end of that time Baiothnoy at length deigned to give orders that the friars should be sent away, and that their letters should be given them. One of these letters was from the Khan to Baiothnoy, and was called a "letter of God." It began in the following terms, which may be considered as a sort of profession of Tartar faith. "By order of the living God, Zingis Khan, the son of God, mild and venerable, saith thus: "God is high over all and immortal, but on earth Zingis Khan is the only lord." It goes on to instruct, that this truth should be proclaimed to the farthest extremities of the earth, and along with it, the dreadful punishments that would fall upon those who should disobey this universal and rightful dominion. The other letter was from Baiothnoy to the Pope, and contained the following very unceremonious expressions. "Know, Pope, that your messengers have come to us, and have given your letters, and have held the strangest discourses that ever were heard. We know not if you gave them authority to speak

“ as they have done ; but we send you the firm
“ commandment and ordinance of God, which is,
“ that if you wish to remain seated in your land
“ and heritage, you, Pope, must come to us in
“ your proper person, and do homage to him
“ who holds just sway over the whole earth.
“ And, if you do not obey this firm command of
“ God, and of him who holds just sway over the
“ whole earth, God only knows what may hap-
“ pen.” With this unpropitious result of their
unfortunate expedition, the friars thought them-
selves too happy in being able to set out, and to
reach with all speed the coast of Syria, from
whence they might embark for France.

Meantime Carpini and his companions were
proceeding upon their mission by way of North-
ern Europe. They travelled in haste, dreading
an immediate invasion, and hoping, apparently,
that a word from them would put a stop to such
a danger. They passed through Bohemia, Sile-
sia, and Poland, and met with much courtesy
from the princes of those countries, who were
very deeply interested in the success of their
mission. “ It was given them to understand that
“ they must bestow gifts ;” in compliance with
which notice, they spent part of their stock of
money, though slender, in the purchase of skins ;
a supply of which was also given to them by the

Duke and Duchess of Cracow. These monks appear to have been of a much more mild and prudent character than those employed in the Asiatic mission, and to have been impressed with a due and deep anxiety for the preservation of their own persons. After a long journey, they arrived at Canow, the first town in possession of the Tartars. They went then to another, governed by one Micheas; who, though "full of all malice and despight," yet, upon receiving gifts, conducted them to the first division of the Tartar army. As it was already evening, they had procured a lodging, and were going to rest, when "the armed Tartars came rushing upon us in an uncivil and horrible maner." These unwelcome visitors eagerly demanded, "what maner of persons, or of what condition they were?" Being civilly answered, that they were the Pope's legates, the intruders took their departure. Next morning, however, a more formal examination took place "for what intent and purpose they came hither." The friar began with a very courteous preface, stating, that the Pope had sent to their emperor and princes to state his good will and his anxiety to maintain peace and league with them. He proceeded, however, to say, that "he marvelleth much at their monstrous slaughters and massacres of mankind;" and especially, that these had been exercised against persons "who had

“not injured them in ought.” He exhorts them, therefore, “to beware of such dealings, and to repent them of that which they had done.” He concluded with a question, to which he could have very little expectation of receiving a satisfactory answer : “What they purpose to do hereafter, and what their intention is ?” The Tartars received this message in the usual ceremonious manner, and without any comment, but said, that the friars must proceed to Duke Corrensa. This prince, it seems, was “governour of all them which are in guard against the nations of the west ;” and his force employed for this purpose was said to amount to 60,000 men. On reaching Corrensa, the first question was, “With what they would incline unto him ?”—which was found to mean, what presents they would offer. The friars humbly replied, that, from the dangers of the journey, and other causes, that circumstance had not duly entered into their contemplation ; but that they would do their best. Their offers being accepted, post-horses were immediately appointed to convey them to Duke Bathy (already mentioned), who was second under the Khan, and had the supreme command over all this part of the Tartar world. It seems to have been the uniform system of the Tartars to parade their ambassadors from court to court, representing them, doubtless, as persons

bearing homage and tribute. In this long journey, our friars travelled over the land of Comania, a vast plain, watered by four great rivers, the Dnieper, the Don, the Volga, and the Yaik. The first was occupied, on the Russian side, by Corrensa, and on the other by Montii; the Don by Tirbon; while the Volga “is an exceeding great river, upon the bankes whereof Duke Bathy marcheth.” This was a very hard journey, as they posted from morning to night, changing horses several times a-day, and often travelling for several days upon the ice. After about two months they arrived at the court of Bathy. Here the first ceremony consisted in the kindling two large fires, through which the friars were informed that they must pass. To this process they at first objected most strenuously; but being told that it was necessary before being presented to the prince, and was merely to purify them from all suspicion of evil, “they were content-ed to pass through.” After a discussion about presents, similar to that at the court of Corrensa, they were ushered into the presence of Bathy. “This Bathy carries himself very stately and magnificently, having porters and all officers, after the maner of the Emperour, and sittes in a lofty seat or throne together with his wives. In the middest stands his table, neare unto the doore of the tent, wherein there is drinke filled

“in golden and silver vessels.” Instead of the rash intrepidity displayed by the former embassy, the mission seem to have been moved with the deepest awe and dread when ushered into this presence. They not only, in approaching, bowed before the threshold, but, on entering, “kneelled upon their knees” without the smallest hesitation. On their coming out, it was announced to them, that post-horses and guides had been appointed to convey them into the heart of Tartary, to the imperial court of Cuyne Khan, to whom it was expedient that they should be presented. This, to the friars, was a fearful mandate; but they did not venture to utter a word in opposition. To increase their affliction, two only were sent, and the other two detained on some trifling pretext. Next morning, after a slender breakfast, they took their departure “with many teares, not knowing whether it were to life or to death.” They had two guides, with whom they soon plunged into the depth of the Tartar wilds. Though debilitated by preceding hardships, they were obliged to push on with the same furious speed as before, changing horses, where they could be had, several times a-day. Under this fatigue, they were supported by most slender fare, having no food but millet, and no drink except melted snow. They proceeded first through the land of Comania, described as “a

“most large and long countrey.” The Comani had recently been subdued and nearly exterminated by the Tartars; and the tract over which they passed exhibited the melancholy spectacle of their skulls and bones strewed over it. The same scene continued to present itself in the land of the Kangittæ, who had met a similar fate. They next entered the country of the Bisermini; and riding on “most earnestly,” reached a small sea (the Balkash), along the coast of which they travelled for many days. This sea was subject to most violent gusts of wind, reported to issue from a hole in a mountain situated on its banks. Here they found an *orda* or court of the emperor, in which one of his wives presided. They stopped a day for refreshment, but were not admitted into the court. On leaving this place, their hardships increased, the country being mountainous and “colde beyond measure;” and “there fell a mightie snow.” They did not, however, slacken their pace; but “riding always “hastily and with speed,” and “sparing no horse-flesh,” they came, on the 22d of July, to the court of Cuyne, the emperor elect.

The friars arrived at a critical moment. Although it was understood that the choice would fall upon Cuyne, the formal election had not yet taken place; but all was busy in preparations for it. The great Tartar lords, each with a train of

attendants, had assembled from the farthest extremities of the empire. Ambassadors from Bagdad, and from the great monarchies of Persia, India, Russia, and China, were ready to offer presents and congratulations. The scene was dazzling, and exhibited, in profuse display, all the pomp of the eastern world. Carpini reckoned of princes, nobles, whom he calls dukes, and ambassadors, upwards of 4000. "And there were
"all the dukes assembled, eche one of them riding up and downe with his traine, over the
"hills and dales." These chiefs appeared every day in a different dress; first in white, then in scarlet, next in blue, and lastly in most rich robes of Baldakin (Bagdad) cloth, considered the finest of any then manufactured. The horses were superbly caparisoned; and many were calculated to have on them upwards of twenty marks of pure gold. The emperor's tent was of white cloth, enclosed with painted wood, and of such vast dimensions, that it was supposed two thousand men might stand within it. There was one gate appropriated to the monarch himself, by which, though it stood continually open and unguarded, no one dared to enter; the other was the gate of audience, and strictly guarded; nor was one admitted, unless by the monarch's express order. The friars being invited to a feast, mares' milk (koumiss) was put down, and drank

in such quantities, as filled them with utter amazement; nor could they, without difficulty, obtain permission to limit themselves to any moderate portion.

During a month, in which Carpini resided at this court, it was understood that the election of the new emperor had taken place, and this was indicated by the marks of respect paid to him; but he was not yet formally installed. At length, on the 24th August, an immense assemblage took place in the open air, and a long time was spent in praying and making prostrations towards the south. At length, a gilded chair was brought out, upon which Cuyne was seated; and the Tartar chiefs said: "We wish, we pray, and command, that you have power and domination over us all." Cuyne replied: "If you wish that I be your king, are you resolved and disposed, each of you, to do all that I shall command, to come when I call, to go whither I send, and to kill all whom I shall order to be killed?" The chiefs replied, "Yes." "Then," said he, henceforth my word alone shall be my sword." Immediately after, however, he was seated in a chair of felt, and addressed as follows: "Look on high, and see God; and look down on the felt whereon thou sittest. If thou dost govern well, thou shalt reign in power and magnificence, and the whole earth shall be

“subject to thee; but if ill, thou shalt be poor, miserable, vile, and contemptible, and shall not have power, even over the felt whereon thou sittest.” His principal wife was then placed in the same chair, and both were lifted up in the air, and proclaimed, with loud cries, “Emperor and Empress of all the Tartars.” Presents were then distributed among the lords and princes; and the ceremony concluded, like all others, with distribution of food, and the drinking of an immense quantity of koumiss. Cuyne is described as about forty or forty-five, very prudent, considerate, and “passing serious, and grave in all his demeanour.” It was even stated, that scarcely, on any occasion, had he been seen to laugh. No ambassador was allowed to speak to him, unless through the medium of an interpreter; and, in administering justice, no advocate or pleader was employed; every thing being done according to the simple will of the emperor. This prince had not given up any of the pretensions of his race to universal dominion. On his seal he had engraved, “One God in heaven, and Cuyne Khan upon earth, the power of God; the seal of the Emperor of all men.”

A few days after the coronation, audience was given to all the ambassadors. Such a ceremony, in the East, is always attended with the giving of presents; and, in producing these, a scene of

magnificence was displayed, which nearly eclipsed all that had yet been exhibited. “ There
“ were presented to him such abundance of gifts
“ by the saide ambassadors, that they seemed to
“ be infinite; namely, in samites (satin cloths),
“ robes of purple, and of Baldakin cloth, silke
“ girdles wrought with gold, and costly skinnnes.”
They were particularly dazzled with a sun-canopy (umbrella) full of precious stones, a long row of camels covered with Bagdad cloth, and a “ won-
“ derful brave tent, all of red purple, given by
“ the Kythayans,” (Chinese). At a little distance appeared five hundred carts, “ all full of
“ silver, and of gold, and silke garments.” When this display of Oriental pomp was over, the friars were asked, what presents they intended to give. This was a most embarrassing question; for, after such a display, the small remnant of their skins could not make its appearance with any degree of decency. They thought it better, therefore, to declare at once, “ that they were not of
“ ability so to doe;” and it is not said that any indignation was expressed at the failure. Indeed, they had been treated, from the first, in a particularly flattering and respectful manner. They experienced even a preference over the other ambassadors; and, on solemn occasions, received the upper hand of all except the Duke Jeroslaus of Russia. They were even assured by

some members of the imperial household, that the Emperor himself, at no distant period, would publicly declare himself a Christian. They entertained, therefore, the most flattering hopes of a brilliant termination to their embassy, when, during a visit to the Emperor's mother, who lived at some distance, the following intelligence was transmitted to them: "The said Cuyne being Emperor
"new elect, together with all his princes, erected
"a flag of defiance against the church of God
"and the Romane empire, and against all Christian
"kingdomes and nations of the West, unless, peradventure, (which God forbid), they
"will condescend unto those things which he
"hath enjoined, namely, that they will become
"obedient unto him." The friar endeavours to give to these disastrous tidings somewhat of a flattering turn, by adding: "For, except Christendom, there is no land under Heaven which
"they stand in feare of, and for that cause they
"prepare themselves to battel against us." It may be suspected, however, that the lofty tone assumed in the Pope's despatches, and the uncourteous language held by some, at least, of his envoys, had a powerful influence in prompting to this high and hostile determination.

The event now announced subverted every hope of a fortunate termination of the embassy. Yet no change took place in their outward treat-

ment; nor was any notice even taken to them of the proceeding, which they had been purposely removed to prevent them from witnessing. After their return to court, they remained for a month, during which they experienced no deficiency, except a very doleful one, food being administered in such limited quantities, as rendered it a matter of the most extreme difficulty to keep soul and body together; the provision allowed for four days being scantily sufficient for one. Some relief was, however, afforded by the charity of a Russian jeweller of the name of Cosmo. At length they were sent for by the Emperor, who inquired, if there were any persons about the Pope who understood the Russian, Saracen, or Tartarian tongues. The legate replied, that they "had none of these letters or languages." It was agreed, therefore, that the letters to the Pope being written in the Tartarian language, should be translated into Latin; and they were then made to read their translation three times over, "lest they should have mistaken ought." It was privately intimated by their attendants, that the Khan was desirous to send ambassadors to the Pope, but did not choose the proposal to emanate from himself; and they were urged to present to him a petition to that effect. On weighing this subject, however, Carpini considered, that these ambassadors could be solely intend-

ed as spies, and that there was nothing in the present distracted state of the Christian world, which could not tend to encourage the Tartars in the meditated invasion. He reflected, moreover, that from the present temper and state of manners prevailing in Europe, they would be certainly maltreated, and probably killed ; a violence which the Tartars were understood never to forgive. He determined, therefore, to take the ambassadors, if offered, but that nothing should be done on his side to forward such a mission. The Khan did not deign to make any overture, but, on the 13th November, delivered to them their letters and passport. They set out, and “travailing all winter long,” describe their hardships as extreme. They were often obliged to sleep on the snow, without the shelter even of trees, and having to clear for themselves a piece of ground to lie upon. They passed rapidly through the courts of Bathy, Montii, and Corrensa, and, on the 8th June, quitting, with inexpressible satisfaction, the last guard of the Tartars, they arrived at Kiow. They were “rejoiced over as men that had bene risen from death to life.” The Russian princes insisted on entertaining them for eight days, and they then proceeded on their journey to Rome.

Carpini brought for the first time to Europe a description of these terrible warriors, whose name

made tremble all the Western World. He paints first their outward appearance, in which he says, “they are unlike to all other people. For they “are broader between the eyes and the balls of “their cheeks, than men of other nations be. “They have flat and small noses, little eyes, and “eye-lids standing streight upright; they are “shaven on the crowns like priests.” The dress is the same for both sexes, comprehending neither cloaks, hats, nor caps; but consists of “jackets “framed after a strange manner, of buckram, “scarlet, or baldakins.” He gives an account also of their moveable houses, but that of Rubruquis is better, and will be hereafter noticed. They have little grain or bread; on which point, a little millet dissolved in water, and drank in the morning, will satisfy them for the whole day. They have no cows, but he thinks more horses and mares than all the world beside. Their power of enduring hunger is said to be very wonderful; after having spent a day or two without a morsel, “they sing and are merry as if they “had eaten their bellies full.” But Carpini was most of all surprised to find among these fierce and savage warriors, manners much more polished and courteous than he had ever witnessed in his native country. He says, “they are more “obedient unto their lords and masters, than any “other clergy and lay-people in the whole world.

“ They seldome or never fall out among them-
“ selves, and as for fightings and brawlings, they
“ never happen among them. There be in a
“ manner no contentions among them; and al-
“ though they use commonly to be drunken, yet
“ do they not quarrel in their drunkenness. One
“ of them honoureth another exceedingly, and
“ bestoweth banquets very familiarly and liberal-
“ ly. No one of them despiseth another, but
“ helpeth and furthereth him as much as con-
“ veniently he can.” They are so honest, that
the doors of their tents and waggons are left con-
stantly open, and the use of locks and bars is un-
known. The rules of modesty are scarcely ever
violated, even in words. Nothing, therefore,
seems to be more praise-worthy, than the con-
duct which they observe towards each other.
“ But towards other nations the said Tartars be
“ most insolent, and they scorn and set at nought
“ all other noble and ignoble persons whatso-
“ ever.” This was made manifest, as there were
at court several princes of the blood royal of
Russia, Georgia, Persia, and other countries of
the East. Yet the meanest Tartars, appointed to
officiate as their attendants, invariably took pre-
cedence of, and turned their backs upon them
without the smallest ceremony. Towards other
nations also they use the most profound dissimu-
lation, and have a wonderful art of concealing

their purpose till the moment of its accomplishment. Lastly, "The slaughter of other people is accounted a matter of nothing with them." Carpini was particularly struck by the profound subjection in which they are held by the emperor. He assigns to all the chiefs and their attendants the place in which they must reside; and "whatsoever is given them in charge, wheresoever, and whensoever, be it to fight or to loose their lives, they obey without any gainsaying." When he expresses a wish for the daughter or sister of any of his subjects, the lady is at once given up to him. Sometimes even a general collection of virgins is made throughout the Tartar dominions, out of whom, the emperor having made a selection for himself, bestows the rest upon his officers. "To be short, no man dare say, this is mine, or that is my neighbour's; but all, both goods, cattle, and men, are his own." When messengers or ambassadors come from foreign countries, they must be supplied in the districts passed through, with horses, carriages, and necessaries of every description. Here, however, certain recollections burst upon our author's mind, and he is forced to exclaim; "Notwithstanding, they do suffer great misery, and are in much want, both of victuals and of apparel;—especially when they are constrained to make some lingering abode. Then ten men are allowed so little sustenance,

“that scarcely two could live thereof.” It is probable, however, that this deficiency remained unknown to the emperor, and that in particulars which related to his personal service, greater diligence would be employed.

Carpini comes next to an object of the deepest interest—the military system of the Tartars. Their force appears to have been organized in a systematic manner, to which Europe then was probably a stranger. It was divided into bodies of ten, of one hundred, and one thousand, the commander of which last was called a millenary. Over ten millenaries was appointed an officer, called here a colonel, while the whole army was subject to two or three generals commanded by one generalissimo. The common arms for the men are bows, of which most have two, with three quivers full of arrows; also an axe, and rope to pull engines with. They have defensive armour both for men and horses, and some are entirely covered with plates of iron, which “they scowre so bright, that a man may behold his face in them.” Death is inflicted without mercy upon those who fall back, unless at the order of their chief; upon those who neglect an opportunity to rescue any of their comrades taken captive; above all, upon those who fly to plunder before the victory be achieved. In passing rivers, they employ a peculiar process. They take a

large and light piece of leather, which they press into the form of a round ball, and fill with their clothes and necessities, putting the saddles and other hard substances upon the top, and sitting upon them. A horse then swims before to guide the ball, and a man foremost to guide the horse, and the whole is conveyed in safety to the opposite side. The common soldier merely fastens his bag to the horse's tail. Carpini then proceeds to the important question, "how the Tartars may be resisted?" His first proposition is, that no one nation is able to withstand them, and that to succeed in this, there must be a general confederacy of Christians. In other respects, his plan is to imitate in all respects the Tartar mode of warfare, even to the use of the same weapons. He warns them above all, when the Tartars retire into their own country, by no means "to depart" and casseir their bands," as this is only a feigned retreat, made for the purpose of coming upon them by surprise immediately after.

Carpini gives an account of the history and genealogy of Zingis, into the full details of which we shall not enter. He describes him, as was probably the case, the original ruler of one tribe only of Moguls, first conquering those nearest, and compelling them to join his standard, thus extending his power, till it reached over all Eastern Tartary. The Naimans and Karakitayans,

however, who ruled over the western regions, assembled a great force, and gave battle ; but being completely vanquished, Zingis became ruler over all Northern Asia. He next attacked the Emperor of Kythay (China), by whom he is said to have been first completely worsted ; but, returning with a greater force, he totally defeated him, made way by sap into the fortress where he had shut himself, put him to death, and seized his kingdom. The Kythayans (Chinese) are correctly described as inhabiting a country rich in corn, wine, silk, gold ; as a very courteous and gentle people, and are equal to any people in the world as artificers. The Tartars then turned westward, and having subdued all Tartary, entered Russia, where they “ made foule havocke,” and from whence they poured into Hungaria and Polonia. Some marvellous adventures were also related and confirmed “ by certain clergymen of “ Russia, and that by strong and stedfast affirmation ;” but to which our author, by lending too diligent heed, has somewhat committed his own fame for veracity ; though, in every thing reported from his own observation, we see no trace but of perfect good faith. These miracles appear, I think, to have been invented by the Tartars to cover the disgrace of certain overthrows which they had experienced. Thus, on approaching Caucasus, they found a mountain of adamant,

which drew into it all the arrows and darts of iron which were discharged in its neighbourhood. Attempting to penetrate this mountain, they encountered a huge black cloud, which prevented all passage. The true state of the case probably is, that an army, accustomed only to the dead level of their vast plains, were unfit to contend amid the rocks and defiles of this vast chain of mountains. Again, in a country lying on the ocean, they found monsters with men's heads, but dogs' faces, who "spake as it were two words like men, but at the third they barked like dogges." The same story is repeated in another shape, of a country where the females were of the human form, and the males of the canine. These last rubbed themselves in the snow, till the ice formed a panoply, from which the weapons of the Tartars rebounded "as if they had lighted upon stones." This evidently carries us to the shores of the Eastern Ocean, and the Kamtschadale dogs; and we may conjecture that the frozen barriers of nature had there proved too powerful for Tartar invasion. I cannot so readily solve the account of a nation met with in their march towards Armenia, each of whom had only one arm and one leg, so that to draw a bow required the efforts of two. These persons ran with incredible swiftness, sometimes hopping on their single foot, sometimes with hand and foot to-

gether. Another country was placed so near the sun's rising, that people "could not endure the terrible noise, and were fain to stop their ears, lest they should hear that dreadful sound." Many of the army, it is said, who had not taken the due precaution, perished in consequence, and the remainder judged it wisest to evacuate so perilous a region. In reporting this fiction, however, our friar may justify himself by the example of the philosophic pen of Tacitus. A more curious statement occurs with regard to the people of what he calls India Major, or the dominions of Presbyter John. They had, he says, images of copper, with fire in them, which they placed on horseback, while a man with a pair of bellows rode behind. When the horses were drawn up in battle array, the men, he says, "laide I wote not what upon the fire within the images, and blew strongly with their bellows. Whereupon it came to passe, that the men and the horses were burnt with wilde fire, and the ayre was darkened with smoke." From this passage it seems certain, that gunpowder had been invented, and was used in the east of Asia, at a time when it was yet unknown in Europe, or at least when the discovery was so much in its infancy, as to leave no room to suspect, that it could have been transmitted from thence to the eastern regions.

CHAPTER II.

MISSION OF RUBRUQUIS.

Occasion of this Mission.—Visit to Sartach.—To Baatu.—To Mangu Khan.—Karrakorum.—Return.

NOTHING could tend less to encourage the hope of any alliance with the conquerors and ravagers of Asia, than the issue of the two embassies which we have now reported. A combination of circumstances, however, soon after occurred, which led to a temporary amity. While St Louis was engaged in his memorable crusade against the Saracen power in Syria, the Tartars, who were attacking the same power from the side of Persia, became united with him by a common interest. To cement the connexion, a prince named Erkaltay, who commanded the Tartar force in Persia, sent an embassy to the King, with letters, the tenor of which has been variously reported. According to some, the ambassadors stated, that the Khan and all his grandees had, for three years, professed the Christian faith, and made war with no object but that of spreading it, and

rooting out the enemies of the cross. According to more sober relations, they represent the letters as merely expressing respect for Christianity, recommending an union of all its sects against the Saracen power, and announcing the intention of speedily laying siege to Bagdad. As their tenor, however, was thus courteous, and as the ambassadors went to mass, and observed all the Catholic ceremonies, the most sanguine hopes were entertained, that the Tartars either were or might be converted into Christians. An embassy was forthwith sent to Erkaltay, with a present, consisting of a portion of the wood of the true cross; but no narrative has been published of its result. At the same time, rumours came from the north of another Tartar prince, called Sartach, whose territories bordered on the Black Sea, and who was either a Christian, or at least so favourably disposed, that his conversion might be easily effected. The pious King, anxious to lose no opportunity, sent Rubruquis, a Minorite friar, to this new prince, for the purpose of requesting permission to settle in the country and preach. Rubruquis himself has given a full, and seemingly a very faithful account of this mission.

Rubruquis begins his journey from Constantinople, then the seat of all that remained of the Greek empire, and forming, to Europeans, the

key of the Eastern World. He sailed across the Black Sea to Soldaia, now Soudak, in the Crimea, a city which was then the seat of a very extensive commerce. The furs of Russia, the spices and silks of India arrived thither, and were carried across the Black Sea to Constantinople to be distributed through Europe.

On his arrival at Soldaia, Rubruquis immediately began his inquiries about Sartach, and soon met with a bishop who had visited that chief, and “who told me many good things concerning the said Sartach, which afterwards I found to be nothing so.” Thus encouraged, however, he began to make preparations for his journey, and was asked, whether he would choose carts driven by oxen or pack-horses. The merchants of Constantinople had exhorted him to prefer the former conveyance; and “contenting himself with their evil counsel,” he chose a mode which caused him to employ two months instead of one in travelling to Sartach. He had brought a stock of wines, fruits, and biscuits, as presents to the governors of Soldaia, having been assured that “they look favourably upon no man which cometh with an empty hand.” The governors being absent, he put these articles into his carts as presents for Sartach, to whom he was told they would be most acceptable. The party passed high promontories and “forty castles, every one

“ of which almost have their proper language.” They then came to “ a most beautiful wood, full “ of fountains and freshets.” After the wood appeared “ a mighty plaine champain.” This region had been occupied by the Comanians till a recent period, when they fled before the Tartars ; and being crowded into a narrow and barren district, suffered such extreme famine, that “ they which were alive were constrayned to “ eate up those which were dead ;” and a merchant told our author, he had seen “ that the “ living men devoured and tore with their teeth “ the raw flesh of the dead as dogges would “ gnaw upon carrion.” In a very few days after our traveller found the *Tartars* ; “ amongst whom being arrived, “ methought I was come into a new world.” He undertakes to describe the manners of those formidable warriors, with whom Europe was still very imperfectly acquainted. They dwell in moveable tent-shaped houses made of wicker, having the top ornamented with white felt, from which “ ascendeth upwards a necke like unto a “ chimney.” A large piece of felt, curiously painted, also hung before the door. These houses, in travelling, are not taken down or folded, but placed upon huge carts, drawn by twenty-two oxen, eleven a-breast, and the axletree of which is compared to the mast of a large ship. The

houses are thirty feet in diameter, twenty of which are contained within the cart, and five feet project over on each side. Besides these large carts on which the houses are laid, there are others of smaller dimensions for conveying the baggage chests. These are square, made of wicker, covered with felt, and smeared with tallow, to exclude the rain. The wives of the great men have each a large cart and house, with a number of chest-carts appended. These ladies bestow peculiar care on the ornament of their vehicles; so that our traveller laments his total ignorance of painting, which made him unable to bring home a representation of these “beautiful carts.” These are driven by females, one of whom can direct twenty or thirty of these enormous waggons. She sits on the foremost, and the whole chain being connected together, follow slowly, but safely, over these immense and dead flats.

In domestic life, conviviality forms the prominent feature, “and sometimes they carouse for the victory very filthily and drunkenly.” Previous to every drinking party, the servant takes a cupful of liquor, and sprinkles it three times, with bended knee, to each of the four quarters of the globe. Beside the master of the house sits his favourite wife, to whom the liquor is also presented, and who rarely puts it aside.

Fermented liquors are made of rice and honey; wine is even imported; but *cosmos* (koumiss), a liquor prepared from mare's milk, when it can be had, supersedes every other beverage. Our author says, "it biteth a man's tongue like the wine of raspes;" but adds, "it leaveth behind it a taste like the taste of almond milke, and goeth down very pleasantly, intoxicating weak braynes;" nay, he afterwards exclaims, "in very deede it is marvellous sweet and whole-some liquor." It is the first duty of a Tartar vassal to furnish his chief daily with a copious store of this delicious beverage. Food is not dispensed in equal abundance. Even at their feasts they give unto fiftie or a hundred men, the flesh of one ramme to eate." This flesh is minced in a bowl with salt and water; and the master having first helped himself, causes a portion to be handed to each of the guests. Should any one not consume his whole allowance, he deposits what is left in a box kept for the purpose, "to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought." The flesh of every animal which dies by disease or accident is cut in thin slices and carefully dried. Cleanliness is so little a prevailing quality, that they studiously abstain from washing any part of their garments. They firmly believe, that the hanging them up to dry would give immediate offence to their Deity, and

who would manifest his wrath by a violent thunder storm, of which they entertain the most peculiar dread. Severe chastisement is therefore inflicted on any one who dares to commit so sacrilegious an act.

The dress of these Tartars consists, in summer, of silk, cotton, and even cloth of gold, which they import across central Asia from India and Cathay. But, in winter, they wrap themselves close in furs received from the Kirghises, and other tribes inhabiting the northern regions. The females dress nearly as the men; but their favourite ornament consists in the *botta* or head-dress, made of bark, rising like a pyramid to the height of several feet. In the summit of the spire is fixed a bunch of quills or slender canes, embellished with peacock feathers, and equal in height to the lower part of the head-dress. When a party of these ladies were taking an airing on horseback, they appeared to our traveller like a troop of cavalry in full uniform; the *botta* representing the helmet, while the quills were like a lance held high above it. These ladies, in riding, bestride the horses like men; they wear silken scarfs and veils, are exceedingly fat, yet consider beauty to be in exact proportion to the smallness of the nose; and “they dawbe “over their sweet faces with grease.” All those charms, however, thus studiously adorned, are

disposed of exclusively by sale. "No man can have a wife till he hath bought her;" and even when the fair one's attractions have come to be much on the wane, the father will not bestow her without some solid equivalent. Polygamy, to an indefinite extent, is admitted among the men; but the females cannot even marry a second time, for the husband is believed to have a right to his wife in the future world, when it would be very inconvenient that two or three claimants should appear for one lady. This rule admits of one very singular exception in the case of sons, who may marry all their father's wives except their own mother. This has, no doubt, its origin in the idea of property, here closely attached to the weaker sex; and it is justified on the principle, that the son, after death, cannot hesitate, and will feel no humiliation, in restoring to his parent this species of possession.

Rubruquis expresses little satisfaction with the conduct of the first party of Tartars whom he here encountered. Their main anxiety seemed to be to obtain a portion of the good things which he carried along with him; and, on receiving a biscuit or a flaggon of wine, they presently craved another, alleging, that "a man goeth not into the house upon one foote." They shewed a most unbounded curiosity respecting the contents of the carts, and the nature of the presents

that were conveying to Sartach ; but our traveller, alarmed as to the results of admitting them to any close inspection, evaded every question, and insisted only upon receiving the direction where to find Sartach ; and this they tardily and reluctantly gave. They never paused, however, “ begging our bread for their young brats, wondering at all things which they saw, and desiring to have them.” On leaving them, he says, he felt as if escaped out of the hands of devils ; seemingly a somewhat hard judgment, since he admits that they took nothing by force ; and his heaviest charge is, that “ if a man gives them nought, and after stands in need of their services, they will do right nought for him.”

Our traveller had learned, that the district on which he was now to enter was occupied by Scacatai, a petty chief of the great family of the Khans ; to whom, therefore, he had provided himself with letters from the Emperor of Constantinople. Next day, accordingly, they met “ the carts of Scacatai laden with houses, and methought a mightie city came to meet me.” On a narrow scrutiny, however, this pompous procession was not found to contain more than five hundred men, with women and children in proportion. At three o’clock, they “ unladed their houses,” and the party was waited upon by the Prince’s interpreter, who immediately

began, as usual, to proffer requests, especially for some rich garment. The mission were not duly provided in this respect, and chose rather to bestow wine, biscuit, and apples; "but he was not contented therewith." However, it was necessary to usher them into the presence of Scatai; and they entered with "feare and bashfulness." The prince sat on a couch, with a citron in his hand, and his wife beside him. That lady's nose formed the chief object of observation to the visitants. They "verily thought that she had cut and pared her nose between the eyes, so that there she had left herself no nose at all." This place and the eyebrows were besmeared with a black ointment; "which sight seemed most ugly in our eyes." The prince, however, gave them a very courteous reception, and even accepted graciously their wine and fruits, with the plea of poverty for not giving more. During their stay, however, no care was taken to supply them with victuals, of which they received a very scanty portion. Their money proved of no use; the Tartars being utterly unconscious of any value that could be attached to it. When offered a piece of gold, they rubbed it and put it to their nose in order to smell if it were copper; in which case only it might have been of some small value. Cloth alone was in request; "of which kind of merchandize

“we had none at all.” They were thus left dependent upon Tartar charity, which produced only a little sour milk; and even water could be procured only by drinking out of the same trough with the horses. They might thus have been in danger of perishing with hunger, had they not fortunately retained a small portion of biscuit. Our worthy monk, meanwhile, attempted very zealously to make a few converts to Christianity; and a considerable number seemed disposed to listen to his exhortations, till they were assured by the Christians already resident, that whoever, after baptism, should drink any portion of koumiss, forfeited, from that moment, all hope of salvation; whereupon they unanimously declared, that they could, on no account, purchase heaven at such a price. In vain did Rubruquis protest, that the gospel presented no obstacle to the moderate use of this adored beverage; the idea was so firmly rooted, that “he could not, for his life, remove it.” At length, he obtained from Scacatai a guide to conduct him to Sartach, and was furnished with a small stock of provisions. In departing, he says, he conceived himself passing through hell gates, though he does not state why, except that his attendants stole in a very scandalous manner, till schemes were adopted for narrowly watching them. He then passed through the isthmus at the mouth of the

Crimea, which he found fortified with a ditch from sea to sea. He proceeded eastward through the country of the Comanians, having, on his right hand, the sea (of Asof), and on his left a desert of twenty days' journey. Beyond lay Russia, which is described as "full of wood in all places;" and "it hath been wasted all over by the Tartars, and as yet is daily wasted by them." On the other side of Russia lay Prussia, just conquered by the Dutch knights of the order of St Mary; who, he says, might "easily win Russia, if they would put to their helping hand." He entertains even the chimerical hope, that if the Pope should once cause the ensign of the cross to be here displayed, the Tartars, at first view of it, would fly at once into the interior of their deserts.

In this journey, our travellers saw nothing but heaven and earth, the sea, and the sepulchres of the Comanians. The attendants gave much offence by their dirt and impudence. But the most grievous affliction arose from the conduct of the interpreter, whom he endeavoured to make a channel for instructing his companions in the Christian faith. The interpreter protested positively against being made a preacher. Our friar, however, insisted, and obtained an apparent acquiescence; but as soon as he himself had caught a smattering of the language, he found

that this functionary was acting in the most unfaithful manner; that when told one thing, he said something quite different, "whatsoever came first unto his witless tongue's end." Seeing no prospect of any reform in the conduct of this personage, he "resolved much rather to hold his peace." After many days travelling he came to "the mighty river Tanais" (the Don), the magnitude of which he compares to that of the Seine. It abounds in fish; but the barbarous natives have not skill to take them, or rather set no value upon any fish of moderate size, nor unless they can "prey upon the flesh thereof as upon the flesh of a ramme." Beyond Tanais is "a very goodly country, having store of rivers, and mightie huge woods." Travelling onward, they arrived at the river Etilia or Volga; by which last name only it is now recognized. He describes it as "the mightiest river that ever he saw;" as four times greater than the Seine at Paris; and as discharging itself into a sea or lake four months' journey in circuit (the Caspian).

Within three days' journey from the river Etilia, Rubruquis arrived at the residence of Sartach. Previous, however, to an introduction to that potentate, it was necessary to have some dealing with a person called Cojat, who was in high authority at court. The guide expressed

the utmost trepidation at the idea of appearing before this personage without suitable gifts. Rubruquis, however, presented himself, and found the chief "sitting majestically, having music and "dancing in his presence." Our friar then began a long statement of his poverty, representing himself as a man bound, by his order, to the renunciation of all worldly goods, and who, having nothing himself, could not be expected to give to others. This apology was listened to; and, when Cojat had received a portion of Muscadel wine and biscuit, he appeared exceedingly pleased. Next day, however, being fixed for the interview with Sartach, the friar received, in the morning, a message from the minister, requesting that he would bring with him all his books and instruments. This admitting of no contradiction, they were accordingly conveyed in a cart, and spread out before the minister and his attendants. The former, after eyeing them attentively, was pleased to suggest, that they would form a most proper and acceptable present to Sartach. "Which saying made me to tremble, and griev-
"ed me full sore." However, "dissembling his
"griefe," Rubruquis recapitulated all the reasons which made it impossible to go beyond his usual donation of wine and biscuit. No acquiescence was expressed; but as the vestments were to be put on for the purpose of appearing before the

Prince, their fate was, for the present, suspended. The party now equipped themselves for the audience. Rubruquis armed himself with a "very fair cushion," a bible, and a "most beautiful psalter, wherein were goodly pictures," which had belonged to the Queen of France. A curtain of felt being then lifted up, exhibited Sartach, with all his wives, sitting before a table, which was covered with koumiss and drinking cups. Being requested to sing a benedicite, they entered, singing "*Salve Regina*." They were tolerably well received, and the conversation turned chiefly on religion; from which, however, our friar could find no confirmation of the report, that Sartach was a Christian. "Nay, he rather seemed to deride or scoff at Christians." The most anxious inquiries in other quarters upon this subject were equally fruitless. It is true, that many parties of Russians and Bulgarians passed through his territories, who, upon offering copious gifts, were received with favour; but the Saracens, when they brought larger presents, found a still more cordial welcome. At the close of the audience, our traveller, to his great satisfaction, was allowed to carry home his cart with all its contents. It was not long, however, ere the sinister presages excited by the manner in which the apparel had been viewed, were fatally confirmed. A priest, the brother of Cojat, waited

upon the travellers, and stated the wish of Sartach, that they should pay a visit to his father, Baatu, with a request, that they might, in the mean time, leave their vestments behind, as he was desirous “to take more diligent view thereof.” An attempt was made to parry this blow, by representing the necessity of these garments, in order to appear with decency before Baatu. The priest, however, entered into a long argument to prove that they could, with no propriety, appear before that prince in the same dress as before Sartach. Rubruquis was prepared with a triumphant refutation; but, as he was opening his lips, the priest exclaimed, “Be not too talkative, but go your ways;” at the same time laying hold of the vestments. Rubruquis now began ruefully to deliberate on his situation. His only hope of redress was from Sartach himself, with whom he had no channel of communication but through the interpreter; and, besides the unfaithful manner in which that person reported all things confided to him, “his will was good, that we should have given away all that we had.” After weighing the whole matter, no remedy could be discovered except patience, which, indeed, the priest himself had earnestly recommended to them.

Before commencing the narrative of this journey, Rubruquis gives a rapid view of the poten-

tates who ruled over the vast regions on which he was entering. At the time of the crusades, he observes, the countries to the north were occupied by a people of Nestorian Christians, ruled by a prince whom they called King John; and of whom he says, "they reported ten times more than was true. For they blaze abroad great rumours and reports upon just nothing." These rumours, however, spread through Europe the belief of the existence of a mighty Christian prince called Prester John, who was first supposed to occupy the centre of Asia, and afterwards, by a strange transition, that of Africa. This John had a brother, Vut, who inhabited farther to the north, among the Alps of Cara Catay. This Vut, having succeeded his brother John, extended his dominion wide over Asia, till he reached the frontier of the Moguls (here called Moals). Among them arose Cyngis (Zingis); and this mighty conqueror of Asia is here oddly described as a blacksmith, who began with stealing cattle from Vut's territory. The enraged Vut raised an army to avenge this wrong upon the whole race of Moals; but the latter having chosen Zingis for their leader, gained a complete victory. Vut fled from his dominions, and his daughter being made captive, was married to a son of Zingis. This last chief began now to spread wide his empire over these vast regions;

and in all places the people would cry out, “Loe! the Tartars come, the Tartars come!” It became ultimately, however, his object to extinguish the name of Tartar, and substitute that of Moal (Mogul) in its place. Although the court of Zingis still remained in *Mancherule*, yet Tartaria, which he had conquered, was become the “royall and chiefe city,” or seat of empire; the supreme dominion of which was now held by Mangu Khan, the son of Zingis.

In his journey to the court of Baatu, our traveller proceeded in great fear, the road being infested with predatory bands, making mighty attacks on the traveller, whom they killed as well as robbed. He reached in safety, however, the mighty stream of the Volga. He then found occasion to remark the error of Europeans, who, following some ancient maps, believed the Caspian to be a gulf of the ocean, whereas he ascertained it to be enclosed on all sides by land. He heard also, that, towards the northern ocean, there were dogs of an huge stature, and which drew in carts like oxen; a report true of the remote country of Kamtschatka. The country in which he travelled was called Bulgaria the Greater; and, in considering the immense tract of mountain and desert which intervened between it and Arabia, Rubruquis expresses his astonishment, “what devil could have carried the reli-

“gion of Mahomet thither;” for he observes,
“they are most wicked Saracens, more earnestly
“professing the damnable religion of Mahomet,
“than any other nation whatsoever.”

The court of Baatu, at which our traveller soon after arrived, made a stronger impression upon him than any that he had yet seen. He says, “I
“was astonished at the sight thereof; for his houses
“or tents seemed as though they had been some
“huge and mightie city.” Like the children of Israel, they had a fixed place, where each was to pitch his tent; while the court, or residence of the sovereign, stood in the midst, and was called Horda. The audience with Baatu was conducted with much greater ceremony than that with Scatai or Sartach. A large temporary tent was erected, as the ordinary one could not contain the numbers usually present on such occasion. They were instructed to say nothing till Baatu gave commandment; and then to speak briefly. They were then led into the pavilion, with strict injunctions not to touch the cords of the tent, which would have been an ill omen. “There we
“stood in our habit, bare-footed and bare-headed,
“and were a great and strange spectacle in their
“eyes.” He adds, “We stood before him for
“the space wherein a man might have rehearsed
“the psalme, *Miserere mei Deus*, and there was
“great silence kept of all men. Baatu beheld

“us earnestly, and we him.” He was placed on a large seat, resembling a bed, gilt over, and ascended by three steps. One of his ladies sat beside him, while the attendants were placed “scattering” on each side. Baatu then gave commandment to speak, upon which the guide directed Rubruquis to fall on his knees. He dropt on one knee, but finding this unsatisfactory, put down the other also, “being loth to contend about such circumstances.” Unluckily, the worthy friar, finding himself thus in the attitude of devotion, forgot entirely that he was not placed in it for the usual purpose; and, instead of explaining to Baatu the object of his mission, began a fervent prayer to heaven for the conversion of that infidel Prince, and for opening his eyes to the vanity of his earthly greatness. Amid this exhibition, the monarch preserved a dignified courtesy; but the crowd of chiefs and attendants, on whose risible faculties the aspect of the mission had already proved a severe trial, lost now all remnant of gravity. The burst of merriment which arose, shewed to Rubruquis all the awkwardness of his situation; and, on turning to the interpreter, from whom he thought “he should have received comfort in time of need,” he saw that personage “utterly abasht, and dasht out of countenance.” As soon as the mirthful tumult had ceased, Rubruquis endeavoured

to collect himself, and to explain the circumstances which had brought him into the royal presence. He referred particularly to the King of France's letters, which had been delivered to Sartach, and by him transmitted to his father. Baatu behaved with great politeness, desired him to rise, and seeing his eyes still bent immoveably on the ground, requested him to "lift up his countenance." He put several questions respecting the King of France, and his wars with the Saracens; made them sit down, and caused a draught of koumiss to be administered, which is considered as a very peculiar favour. They then took leave and retired to their lodgings, whither they were immediately followed by the guide, who announced, that as the King's letters requested permission for them to take up their residence in the country, it was absolutely necessary, in order to obtain it, that they should visit the court of Mangu Khan, the supreme ruler of all the tribes who followed the standard of Zingis. It was also intimated, that he could have no attendant, except the interpreter; a most cruel exclusion, rendered doubly severe by so little grateful an exception. Our friar declared the impossibility of going without his associate, who on his side protested, that he would rather have his head chopt off than remain behind. These distresses being reported to Baatu, he said, "let the two

“priests and the interpreter go together, but let the clerk remain.” This afforded some satisfaction ; but the monk attempting again to plead for his whole party, the guide said, “No more words ; for Baatu hath resolved, that so it shall be.”

As Baatu's court was making a movement southwards along the banks of the Volga, which brought it nearer to the residence of Mangu Khan, our traveller accompanied it so far. A person was appointed to supply them with food during this journey ; but he performed his part with such small diligence, as to make them suffer the greatest extremities of hunger ; and the associate often declared weeping, that he felt exactly as if he had never eaten any thing in his life. Some consolation was however derived from a troop of Hungarians who joined them, and who being able to sing psalms without book, were accounted clergymen : these persons, when they could afford it, presented our travellers with koumiss, and even occasionally with a little flesh. They asked no return except a few books ; which request grieved our traveller exceedingly, as he had not one to give. However, he requested ink and paper, and wrote for them during the whole time of his residence, which enabled him to complete several of the Catholic formularies. Baatu having now arrived at the term of his journey, our traveller

was waited upon by a rich Mogul, who announced himself as his destined guide to the court of Mangu Khan. This personage seems to have felt an anxious wish, if by any means, with a good grace, he could extricate himself from this function. He endeavoured to effect this by giving a most fearful description of the hardships to be endured, particularly the cold, which was such as to make even rocks rend asunder. Rubruquis however replied with fortitude: "I hope by God's helpe that we shall be able to brooke that which other men can indure." The Mogul finding his representations vain, at last said "all shall be well." Preparations for the journey were therefore made without delay. Rubruquis left behind him most of the clothes which he then wore, and was equipped in a gown and breeches made of ram's skins, with the wool still on them, and boots and shoes made of felt. The party being mounted on horseback, the Tartars felt themselves completely at home, and scoured away over these wide plains with incredible rapidity. This caused exceeding trouble to our traveller, whose quiet and deliberate habits, as well as his corpulent and unwieldy frame of body, greatly unfitted him for flying like the wind over these trackless wilds. Besides, of twenty or thirty horses the Tartars kept always the best for themselves; and though Rubruquis got the stoutest of those

that remained, it was rarely adequate to his weight and dimensions. Then, says he, "whether he ambled a gentle pace or no, I durst not make any question; neither indeed durst I complain although he trotted full sore." In addition to these evils, victuals were furnished in the most sparing manner; so that "of hunger, thirst, cold, and wearinesse, there was no end."

Our traveller calculates, that they rode every day as far as from Paris to Orleans, or about seventy miles; but his troubles, we apprehend, make him much overrate this space. They came in twelve days to the great river Iakok (Yaik or Oural). On the north they had Bulgaria the greater, and on the south the Caspian; but much of what they supposed to be the Caspian, must in reality have been the Aral. The country travelled through is called Cangle, and is described as "a huge and vast desert, which is in dimensions like unto the ocean sea." The guide at first treated them with the most sovereign contempt, and "it was tedious unto him to conduct such base fellows." By degrees, however, they found means to inspire him with a more favourable opinion; and he then introduced them to the courts of Mogul chiefs claiming a descent from Zingis, whose territories lay in their way. These chieftains treated our traveller very courteously; they even offered him money and fine clothes,

which they were much surprised to find him rejecting. They made many inquiries about Europe, particularly the "great Pope," and whether, as they had been particularly assured, he really was five hundred years old.

After travelling forty-three days directly east, the party finding all the inhabitants to the southward, marched for seven days in that direction. They then travelled along high mountains, through a well watered country, "fresh as a garden." Here towns for the first time occurred, and the inhabitants came out "with ale and cups," to shew them the courtesy due to the messengers of Mangu Khan. They came next to a most beautiful plain, full of "fountains and freshets," which flowed from a chain of mountains on their right, and descended on their left into a lake or sea, fifteen days journey in circuit, (the Palcati Nor or Balkash). On its bank they found a large city called Coilac, not known to modern geography, but which formed then the emporium of this part of Asia. They remained in it fifteen days. The country had been called Organum, in consequence, as he fancies, of the skill of the inhabitants in playing on the organ. The people were now called Contomanni, and they were mingled in Coilac with the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions, particularly the Jugurs, who immediately bordered on their territory. These last

attracted particular attention by their religious observances, which appear to belong to the widely diffused system of Shamanism. He brands them, therefore, as rank idolaters, and derides their foolish superstition ; yet admits that it is most extremely difficult to distinguish between many of their observances and those of the Catholic church. They had holy candles, and “ strings “ with a hundred or two hundred nut-shells there- “ upon, much like to our bead-roll.” In dress also they much resemble the French : “ They have “ saffron coloured jackets, laced or buttoned from “ the bosom right down, after the French fashion ; “ and they have a cloak on their left shoulder, “ like unto a deacon carrying the housseil box in “ time of Lent.” They have also a priesthood who renounce marriage, and are shut up in convents. This class place their ideas of perfection altogether in the silent and abstracted contemplation of the divinity. They sit in the temples on two long forms opposite to each other, repeating mentally the words *Ou mam hactani*, (God thou knowest), but without uttering a word. Our author having entered a large congregation, used, not very prudently we think, every conceivable means of “ provoking them unto speech ;” but the whole party remained fixed in immoveable silence. They acknowledge, however, the unity of the Deity ; and on being reproached with the use of images, re-

plied, that these by no means represented the Supreme Being, but only such of their deceased friends as they peculiarly respected. They have diviners who go before the camp "as the cloudie pillar before the children of Israel," and mark down the spot where every tent is to be pitched. Peculiar care is taken of the house or temple within which the images are to be placed, and which no person is permitted to enter. Rubruquis made an attempt, but assures us that "he was well chidden for his labour." With these idolaters were mingled a considerable number of Nestorian Christians; of whom our author treats very briefly. Indeed he admits with grief, that their conduct was so much less meritorious than that of the surrounding Pagans, that Christianity could sustain nothing but injury from their profession of it.

In the beginning of September, the party left Coilac, and in three days came to the head of the lake upon which it is situated. They found it tempestuous like the sea, and somewhat salt, yet potable. To the south-east extended a valley between high mountains, at the opposite end of which was another great lake. They went, however, towards the north, "to the great hilly countries, covered with deep snow." On the 7th December they approached a pass between frightful rocks, the aspect of which superstition

had rendered more formidable. The guides, with looks of dismay, assured our friar, that its recesses were occupied by demons, who were accustomed to dart out upon the unwary traveller. Sometimes they snatched the horse from under the man, and left him to find his way on foot ; at other times, they extracted his bowels, leaving the hollow and lifeless frame seated upon the horse. Rubruquis having undertaken their protection, he and his party placing themselves in front, began, with a loud voice, to sing the creed ; the influence of which was so powerful, that they passed through these frightful gullies without the slightest molestation from any of the emissaries of Satan. This achievement raised the credit of our traveller to the highest pitch ; he was importuned on all sides for papers and scraps of writing ; and conceives that, with a tolerable interpreter, he might have made Christians of the whole party. As it was, he merely wrote out the creed and the Lord's prayer, earnestly exhorting them, that though they could not understand a word, they should firmly believe it, and he hoped they would be saved. " I could do no better," says he. They soon after entered upon an extensive plain, which had been the residence of Ken Khan, the predecessor of Mangu. After passing through it, they proceeded to the high mountains in the north, and at

length entered upon “ a great plain like the sea, “ where there was not so much as a molehill.” Next day they came to “ the palace of that great “ lord.” They did not at first experience such a cordial reception as could have been wished or expected. While the guide was accommodated in a handsome house, Rubruquis was thrust into a little cottage, where he could scarcely find room for his small wardrobe, or even to stand upright. The people crowded round him, inquiring why his sovereign had sent him, and if it was to make peace ; by which it evidently appears that they understood submission. Rubruquis having denied any such intention, “ they wondered, alwayes repeating, why came ye, seeing ye came not to make “ peace ? For they are so puffed up with pride, that “ they think the whole world desire to make peace “ with them.” The Khan’s secretaries afterwards made most particular inquiry into all that France contained, particularly the number of rams, oxen, and horses ; which investigation was soon found to have been made under the understanding “ as if presently they should enter and “ take all.” Our friar strongly describes the difficulty he felt, and how much “ he was fain to “ bridle himself,” in order to restrain the burst of patriotic indignation which swelled in his breast at these pretensions. It seems, indeed, to have carried him beyond all limits of Christian

moderation ; for he exclaims, “ Truly, if I might
“ be suffered, I would preach war against them
“ to the uttermost of my power, throughout the
“ whole world.” Finding it convenient, how-
ever, to disguise these sentiments, he was, a few
days after, introduced at court. We shall give,
in his own words, the appearance presented to
him on his first introduction to the master of half
the world. “ We came in. And in the entrance
“ there stood a bench with cosmos, by the which
“ they made our interpreter stand ; and caused
“ us to sit on a forme before the ladies. The
“ whole house within was hanged with cloth of
“ gold ; and, on a certaine hearth, in the middle
“ of the house, there was a fire made of thornes
“ and worme-wood roots, (which grow there very
“ bigge), and oxe dung. But he sat upon a bed,
“ clothed with a spotted skin or furre, bright and
“ shining like a seale’s skin. He was a flat-nosed
“ man, of a middle stature, about the age of five
“ and fortie years ; and a little pretie young
“ woman, which was his wife, sate by him, and
“ one of his daughters, Cirina by name, (a hard
“ favoured woman), marriageable, with other
“ little ones, sat next unto them upon a bed.”
The apartment was full of liquor, four kinds of
which the Khan desired to be offered to them.
Rubruquis replied, “ Sir, we are not men that
“ take pleasure in drinke ;” but, on some rice-

liquor being presented, "cleere and savoury as
"white wine," it was tasted "for reverence of
"him." Meantime, to their great misfortune,
the interpreter was stationed close to the butler;
of which advantageous position he made such
diligent use, that a cloud soon began to gather
around the small portion of understanding with
which nature had endowed him. It was now
time for Rubruquis to begin his speech to the
monarch. After praying for health and long life,
he proceeded to detail the motives of his journey,
his visits to Sartach and Baatu, and finally, his
wish to be permitted to remain in his territories.
The answer of the Khan was haughty. "Even
"as the sun spreads itself every where, so our
"power and Baatu's spreads itself every where;
"so that we have no need of your silver or gold."
He proceeded to say more, but through the broken
medium of the interpreter, no distinct idea
of its purport could be collected. It was only
understood to convey a reproach for having gone
first to Sartach rather than to himself. Rubru-
quis began the best apology he could; but soon
discerned the interpreter to be so far gone as to be
wholly incapable of transmitting it to the imperial
ear. The awkwardness of this situation was,
however, abated, when, looking up, it appeared
to him, "that Mangu Khan himself was drunke
"also." In this state of things, the audience

was closed without any particular ceremonies ; and our friar was re-conducted to his humble mansion.

A few days after, Rubruquis was invited to witness a grand religious ceremony which was to be performed by Mangu Khan. An Armenian monk here resident assured him that the monarch was at heart a Christian, and only temporized with the professors of any other faith. Rubruquis found little room to credit this assertion. The Christian priests indeed were first introduced to pray for the monarch ; but the Saracens next, and then the idolaters followed, did the very same thing, and experienced equal favour. In short, he found reason to conclude, that Mangu Khan believed none of their systems, but administered to all gifts and courtesy ; “ and all follow “ his court, as flyes do honey.” A few days after, however, they were present at the baptism of the queen or principal wife. They saw her head bared, and a silver basin brought ; but they were then sent out, and entertained some doubt whether the ceremony really was performed. On being recalled, they found Mangu Khan sitting beside the Queen, and were desired to sing, to shew their books, and to explain the use of their images. The Khan then departed, but the lady remained, and calling for a cup full of liquor, fell on her knees, and desiring a blessing from the

priests, drank it off; insisting, at the same time, that our friar and his companions should sing. The celebration of these and similar rites continued, until her Majesty being dead drunk, was conveyed out of church into her chariot; and the priests, who were in a condition nearly similar, made the best of their way home. Next Sunday, as the reading happened to fall upon the festival at Cana, it appeared proper that the action should be suited to the word; a large store of liquor was therefore provided, of which the priests partook most copiously.

The party had soon after another interview with Mangū Khan, in which nothing remarkable passed, except that one of them happening to stumble in coming out, touched the threshold; on account of which profanation, he was immediately apprehended, and his life with difficulty spared. Rubruquis afterwards, along with the Nestorian priests, paid a round of visits to Baltu Khan, the heir of the monarchy, and his three wives. At entrance, they presented the cross; and the ladies, though deeply plunged in idolatry, rose and did it reverence. Immediately after, liquor was produced, and drinking began; an operation in which the priests never failed to take an active share. The consequence was, that after completing the round, they became completely drunk, and went home "with great

“howling and outcries in their drunkenness;” but such conduct, it seems, “is here reprehensible neither in man nor woman.” Rubruquis, however, assures us, that he and his companion were “very warie of the drinke.”

Some time after, our friar went, along with the Armenian monk, to assist in the cure of Cota, a lady of distinction, who was extremely indisposed, and had tried in vain all the resources of idolatrous divination. They found her in bed, and surrounded with various ensigns of magical influence. Our traveller noticed, with peculiar indignation, four swords; a sword at the head of the bed, a sword at the foot, and a sword at each side of the door; and he was still more scandalized that these objects should pass without the slightest animadversion on the part of the priests. The lady, however, seemed amused with the appearance of Rubruquis. She raised herself in the bed, caused wine to be brought, and insisted on his drinking three bumpers in honour of the Trinity. Being amused with the dumb state to which ignorance of the language reduced him, she began teaching him some words. The remedy employed consisted in holy water, rendered such by the infusion of rhubarb; a root then wholly unknown in Europe, and the virtues of which seem scarcely to have been understood in its native region. This water was therefore ad-

ministered; and the movements which subsequently took place in the interior of the patients were considered as miraculous influences, vouchsafed in consideration of the devout act of swallowing it. At the first view of this root, Rubruquis was struck with the deepest veneration. "I thought," says he, "it had been some holy relike brought from the holy land of Hierusalem." The uniformity of its effects, and some other circumstances, gradually induced a spirit of unbelief; and this was much heightened, when one of his companions being taken ill, was induced by zeal to take long and repeated draughts from this sacred fountain; but, instead of reaping the reward of his piety, was tormented in the most grievous manner, and to a perilous extent, by its operation. A strict investigation being therefore made, soon proved that this venerated relic was a mere common cathartic root. At this discovery, the righteous spirit of our friar was deeply moved; he remonstrated warmly with the monk, that rhubarb ought to be given as rhubarb, and holy water as such; and that, if he attempted to work miracles, it ought to be only by the approved means of fasting and prayer. The monk had nothing to say in his own defence; but this dialogue seems to have dissolved that measure of cordiality which previously subsisted between him and our traveller.

During his visit to the palace, Rubruquis had remarked servants carrying in to Mangu Khan several shoulder-bones of rams, burnt as black as coal ; and, “ marvelling greatly what it should “ meane,” he made inquiry, and learned that nothing of importance was undertaken by the emperor, “ before he have consulted with these “ bones.” The divination is performed by observing in what direction the bones have been cleft ; if lengthwise, then the thing may be done ; but the contrary, if they are cleft or broken across. When the Khan, however, is inclined for the measure, one out of three bones duly cleft is considered as a sufficient warrant. This is not the only species of sorcery that is practised. All the Pagan priests, called here Tuinians, are soothsayers, and claim the power of foretelling the future. They understand astronomy, so far at least as to foretel eclipses. They are in the habit of suiting their prophecies to the wish of the royal inquirers ; and, when the prediction fails, have recourse to a most culpable mode of excuse. They denounce some unhappy wretch as guilty of evil practices, by which the destined fortune had been fatally reversed. The principal wife of Mangu Khan having had a son, the child, to whom the sorcerers had prophesied long life and prosperity, died in a few days. To retrieve their character it was pretended, that a certain sorce-

ress, recently put to death, had come, and in their presence carried away the child. She herself was now beyond the reach of vengeance ; but the infuriate mother seized a son and daughter whom she had left, and caused them to be put to death in the most barbarous manner. Mangu Khan, however, expressed strong displeasure at this incident, and indeed seems to have been ever ready to interfere in behalf of those unfortunate persons who became exposed to the persecution of this barbarous priesthood.

Mangu Khan was now leaving his present residence for Karrakorum, his capital, and the only considerable city in this part of Asia. Rubruquis accompanied him. They passed through the hilly countries, where they experienced violent wind and snow, with extreme cold, so that the cattle appeared once in danger of perishing. The friars, who were at present in considerable favour, entered Karrakorum in a species of triumph, bearing before them the ensign of the Saracens, and were met in procession by the Nestorians. The city itself, he says, is not equal to the village of St Denis near Paris, and the monastery of St Denis is “tenne times more worth than the palace, and more too.” The two principal streets belonged, one to the Saracens, who carried on most of the commercial transactions ; the other to the Cataians (Chinese), by whom most of the

handicraft trades were exercised. The place was surrounded by a mud wall, and had four gates. The palace appears to be more properly a hall, at one end of which there was a seat raised high for the Khan, where he was seen by the whole assembly. "And there he sitteth above like a god." There are also raised seats for the different members of the royal family, the principal wife sitting nearly on a level with the Khan. In this court the most important consideration by far was the distribution of drink, for which a French artist had constructed a truly magnificent apparatus. It consisted of a silver tree, at the foot of which were four silver lions, while four silver pipes twined round the tree like serpents, from each of which issued one of the favourite national liquors ; wine, koumiss, mead, and rice-liquor. At the top appeared an angel with a trumpet, which a man hid in the interior of the tree caused him to blow ; "at which command" the four pipes poured out their precious contents, and servants were ready to hand them to all the company, male and female. This truly important machinery was erected in the most central part of the church, that it might be always ready to act at a moment's warning. Here the Khan, twice in the year, held a grand drinking party, on which high occasion the nobles resorted hither from the remotest extremities of the em-

pire. “ And then he gives unto them gifts and garments, and shews his great glorie.”

Karrakorum contained twelve species of idolatry, and one Christian church. The members solicited Rubruquis to celebrate the sacrament ; as a preparation for which, he examined the communicants upon the ten commandments ; but when he came to the eighth, which prohibits theft, they declared with one voice that the observance of this was totally out of the question. They acquainted Rubruquis, that their masters hired them on the express condition that they should have neither food nor clothing, except what they stole ; and they left it to himself to consider, how they were likely to fare in following his system. Rubruquis was much puzzled by this appeal ; but after much deliberation he declared, that he would consider them justified in stealing from their masters what was absolutely necessary for the support of life. Another difficulty arose as to the going to war against Christians, which they stated it to be impossible for them to avoid, without the certainty of being put to death. Rubruquis, however, exhorted them by all means to prefer the latter alternative, assuring them that they would thereby become entitled to all the glories and benefits of martyrdom. These expositions were not judged very satisfactory, and the Saracens, who were jealous of our author's favour,

and watched for an opportunity to undermine it, conceived that they had now a chance of succeeding. After a variety of questions as to the commandments, they came at last to the critical one, "Will ye then say, that Mangu Khan keepeth not the commandments of God?" Our friar, whose conscience absolutely forbade him to reply in the affirmative, was sore dismayed by this interrogatory. He endeavoured, however, to evade it by saying, that he was ready to expound the commandments to Mangu Khan, and to let him be his own judge, whether he kept them or not. The Saracens, however, made no scruple to go and report to the Khan, that Rubruquis described him every where as an idolater, and one that kept not the commandments of God. Mangu Khan appears to have been a good deal discomposed by this report; however, he did not take any violent measure, but merely sent his secretaries to Rubruquis, saying, "Ye are here Christians, Saracens, and Tuines; and every one of you saith, his law is better, and his books are truer. Therefore he would that ye all come together, and make comparison, that he might know the truth." Rubruquis accepted this challenge with joy; and the Tuines, though they murmured "that never any Khan attempted thus much to search into their secrets," yet they could not decently refuse.

Next day, however, and before the conference could take place, the secretary again waited upon our friar, and after some inquiries as to the nature of their mission, announced, that “they had stayed long here, and that they returne into their country.” He inquired also, if he could undertake to protect an ambassador from the Khan to his sovereign? but Rubruquis declared his inability so to do.

Mean time Whitsun-Even approached, being the day appointed for the grand conference. A considerable ferment appears to have prevailed, as Mangu Khan thought it necessary to proclaim, that no one, under pain of death, should “speake contentious or injurious words, or make any tumult.” Rubruquis was placed in the middle of the Christians, to maintain the controversy against the Tuines, who on their side set up a person from Cataia, who was supposed deeply versed in the mysteries of their faith. Our friar proposed as the first ground of debate, the unity of the Deity, which he asserted; while the Cataian maintained, “Fools say there is one God, but wise men say there are many.” After a warm debate, however, the oratory of our friar, which really seems to have been very respectable, reduced the adversary to silence; and he was allowed to speak without contradiction, though none of the party shewed the least disposition to

become a convert. The issue, however, being considered on the whole unfavourable to the idolaters, the Saracens and Nestorians struck up a song of triumph; after which, according to the usual conclusion, "they all dranke abundantly."

Next day Rubruquis was called to an audience with the Khan, being warned beforehand that he must not say a word against his return, as that was a point finally decided. Being introduced into the presence, he was sharply interrogated, whether he had really branded the monarch as an idolater? Rubruquis denied this, stating the speech he had really made, to which the monarch replied, "it was well he had not." Mangu Khan then began a sort of profession of faith, which he made to consist in believing one God, but in supposing that he might have revealed himself differently to different bodies of men; thus leaving it open for each to hold his separate creed, without contradicting that of the sovereign. His resentment, however, was shewn by saying, "God hath given the scriptures to you, and ye Christians keep them not." He then asked if it was found in the scriptures, that one should dispraise another, or that justice should be sold for money? Rubruquis having professed his innocence as to these points, the Khan said that he had not intended any personal application. He then asked what he wanted for his journey, and "if he would

“have gold, silver, or costly garments?” Rubruquis replied, that he wanted nothing but necessities, and a pass to the King of Armenia: he was then assured that he should have both. The friar now made a long speech, requesting permission to return and settle in the country. The Khan remained for a long time in deep musing, and then merely said, “You have a long way to go, make yourself strong with food.” After this implied refusal, Rubruquis took his leave, and saw no more of the Khan.

The short time that Rubruquis remained, was distinguished by a grand festival, celebrated, as usual, by copious libations. At this time, three ambassadors arrived at court; one from the Caliph of Baldach (Bagdad), who was carried to court on a horse-litter, another from the Soldan of India, bringing eight leopards, and ten harehounds; the third from the Soldan of Turkey, offering rich and copious presents; but the Khan replied, that he wanted not gold or silver, but men, and demanded a supply of ten thousand horse. The Indian ambassador stated, that his country lay to the west; and he accordingly travelled three weeks westward with our friar. At length the letters were prepared, and after being interpreted, were delivered into the hands of the friar. They are long and pretty obscure, owing perhaps to the defect of the interpreter. The

main tenor as usual was, to announce the grandeur of the posterity of Zingis, and the bequest of the whole world which had been made to them by the Deity. It warned, therefore, King Lodovick, and all other lords, of the fearful consequences of resistance, and exhorted them to send an embassy to the Khan with peace and submission, otherwise the consequences might be such as could not be predicted.

Rubruquis returned from Karrakorum to the residence of Baatu, in two months and ten days, in the course of which time he “never saw
“towne, nor token of any house, but graves;
“except one village.” This route was more direct and considerably farther to the north, than the one by which he had come. The thinness of the population, however, and the want of supplies, exposed them repeatedly to the most imminent danger of perishing. On the banks of the Volga he met again both Baatu and Sartach, and had very amicable interviews with them. He even obtained restitution of all the effects which he had so reluctantly deposited, except a few vestments, and “our Ladie’s psalter,” which he understood Sartach took peculiar delight in viewing. He returned, not by the Crimea, but through the countries situated between the Euxine and the Caspian. He found the mountains occupied by a race called Lesgi (Lesghis), who are still found

on the more elevated regions of Caucasus. Though provided with a Tartar escort, he travelled not without danger, as these people pay little or no regard to the authority of the Khan. After passing Derbent, or the Iron-Gate, he entered the country of the Cargines (Georgians). Passing the Axaxes, he entered Armenia, then possessed by a monarch of considerable power, and who professed a form of the Christian faith. After passing the Euphrates, he went through very hilly countries, and deep snow. There had just been so great an earthquake, that in one city ten thousand persons had perished ; and, in the course of three days' ride, they saw every where the ground gaping, and heaps of earth precipitated from the mountains into the valleys. He next entered the dominions of the Soldan of Turkey, but suffered no molestation, except being obliged to pay for whatever he got. At Iconium he was introduced to the Soldan, but gives no particulars of the interview, except that the Prince expressed his readiness to have him conveyed to an Armenian or Cilician port. He accordingly embarked at Carcum (Carco), and sailed to Aias, and from thence to Nicosia, where he found his provincial.

Rubruquis gives a very humble view of the state of the Turkish empire. It was then governed by a minor ; and of its subjects, not above a tenth were Saracens, the rest Armenians and Greeks. In

short, says he, "a child ruleth in Turkie, having
"no treasure, few warriors, and many enemies."
It was not long, however, before this people,
under the Ottoman dynasty, broke forth more
powerful than before, and overwhelmed the
western empire.

In conclusion, Rubruquis deprecates the system
of sending as ambassadors to the Great Khan,
poor friars like himself, without official situation,
presents, or any thing which could command
favour or respect. But if his Majesty would
"honourably send a bishop, with many and good
"interpreters, and large expenses," he would at
least obtain a full hearing, and there might be a
chance of some permanent good being effected.

CHAPTER III.

MARCO POLO.

Commercial Travels.—Family of the Poli.—Marco.—Occasion of writing his Narrative.—Its Authenticity.—Persia.—Central Asia.—China.—Return by way of India.

NEVER perhaps did mankind receive from any remote cause so powerful an influence, as that which, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was conveyed to Europe from the Eastern World. A crowd of new ideas was poured in, beside which, all those with which the European mind had been before occupied, appeared poor and uninteresting. Scenes of vast and wild magnificence, palaces glittering with gold and gems, hosts before which the arrays of Europe sunk into nothing, and cities beside which her most splendid capitals became villages—these were the objects which struck the eye of those who travelled into those immense regions, known under the vague name of “The East.” The East was then the scene of those mighty revolutions, which changed at one sweep the aspect of the world. The Cru-

sades, those mighty expeditions, in which the whole Western World had poured itself into Asia, presented a grander theatre of war and glory, than Europe, within itself, had ever exhibited since the age of Charlemagne. In these regions every ardent imagination roved; and thither flocked every active spirit, which felt itself straitened within the dull routine of common existence.

In every age, and most of all in rude ages, war, and the revolutions of empire, have been the grand sources of national excitement. Yet there were not wanting other objects, by which the eyes of Europeans were more and more attracted towards the East. The Asiatic empires had early carried all the finer arts to a perfection elsewhere unknown: from them, the richest and most brilliant stuffs, the most exquisite aromatics, pearls, diamonds, and costly gems, all those objects which minister to the pomp and luxury of the great, were exclusively imported. Hence, besides the extensive profit really derived from oriental commerce, an extraneous lustre was thrown around it by the brilliancy of the objects with which it was conversant. As the wants of mankind are always the same, it would appear, that from the earliest ages extensive caravan routes had been established across Asia, for the supply of the western nations. The hosts of

Europeans, which crowded into Syria and the Holy Land, saw every where traces of this great inland communication. Intelligence of it being conveyed to the merchants of Europe, some of the more enterprising among them conceived that they might profitably trace for themselves this great channel of trade, or at least were seized with a desire to behold the pomp of those vast regions, from which caravans, laden with such precious commodities, were continually arriving. Commerce, at its first revival in Europe, was in the hands of the Venetian and Genoese nobles; distinguished bodies, who, instead of despising trade like the other modern aristocracies, viewed it as the pride and bulwark of their state. These distinguished merchants pursued their adventures with an energy, intelligence, and boldness of enterprise, which had not been displayed by any of their predecessors; they visited distant regions and seas, which had been known to antiquity only by faint and obscure rumour. These noble adventurers were probably not few; but the names which shine pre-eminent are those of the Zeni and the Poli; to the latter of whose achievements our attention is now to be directed. Before giving a view of their discoveries, it will be necessary to give a general outline of their adventures, and of the circumstances under which the narrative of Marco was produced.

The original voyage was undertaken by Maffio and Nicolo Polo, the father and uncle of Marco. Actuated by that adventurous spirit for which Venice was then distinguished, they undertook a voyage to Constantinople, then the key of eastern trade, and over which Venice claimed even some share of dominion. After disposing of their cargo, they learned that a commercial speculation might be advantageously undertaken to the Tartar court on the Volga, which we have lately visited in company with Rubruquis. They accordingly invested the produce of their sales in ornamental jewels, with which they sailed across to Soldaia, and proceeded thence to the court of Barka, (Beréké,) who had now succeeded to Baatu. Their precious cargo secured to them a much more cordial reception than had been granted to the bare and destitute condition in which the friars had chosen to appear. The Poli had every reason to be satisfied with the result of their adventure; but when they proposed to return, they found that, in consequence of a war which had broken out with the eastern Tartars, and which terminated in the overthrow of Barka, the road by which they came was completely blocked up. They sought a way therefore round the Aral to Bachara, then governed by a branch of the great family of Zingis. During their residence here, an ambassador arrived from Kublai, the great

Khan, whose residence was at the remotest extremity of the continent. This person, who seems to have been of a very enlightened and inquisitive disposition, was much pleased with the society of the Venetians; and conceiving that his sovereign would be equally gratified with the accounts which he could receive from them of the western kingdoms, invited them to proceed eastward with him. Partly from curiosity, and partly from the difficulty of finding a safe route to Europe, they were induced to consent. After a long journey, they reached the city of the great Khan, who received them in the most gracious manner, and put numerous questions relative to the different states and kingdoms of Europe. Their discourse tended much to exalt the glory of the religion which they professed, and of the Pope, whom, according to the custom of that age, they represented as by far the greatest personage in the Christian world. The Khan was thus at length inspired with a desire to open a communication with so eminent a character; and he proposed to his visitors, that they should accompany one of his own officers in a mission to this potentate, the object of which was to request, that he would send a hundred learned men, qualified to teach the Christian religion, and the seven sciences. The former he professed to believe as much superior in truth and excellence to that held in his dominions;

and he particularly requested a portion of the holy oil kept burning over the sacred sepulchre at Jerusalem. All accounts prove, that the Tartar monarchs held very loose to the faith of their subjects ; but whether this desire of instructors arose from real conversion, or from a wish to court the favour of his Holiness, may perhaps be doubted. The Venetians however took their departure along with a Chinese nobleman called Khogotal ; but he being taken ill on the road, they were obliged to leave him behind. Such were the difficulties of the journey, that it cost them three years to reach the coast of Syria. They there learned with some dismay, that the Papal See was vacant by the recent death of Clement the Fourth. They remained however till the election of a new pontiff, when the choice fell upon one of their friends, who assumed the name of Gregory the Tenth. He immediately furnished them, not indeed with that copious supply of theologians which the Emperor is said to have solicited, but with two, who are applauded as men of letters and science, as well as deep divines. Being furnished also with presents and credentials, they took their departure along with Marco, the son of Maffio, who having come into the world a few months after his father's departure, was now a youth of nineteen. The details of their journey will be given presently ; here it shall only be

stated, that they again reached the court of the Khan, and were received in the same courteous and distinguished manner. They remained for many years, and were employed in various important official situations; nor was it without difficulty that they were at length allowed to satisfy the longing they felt to return to their native country. They reached Venice after an absence of twenty-four years, in the course of which time they were so completely altered; their dress, appearance, and even language was become so foreign, that their nearest friends could no longer recognize them. Having with difficulty obtained entrance into their paternal mansion, they determined upon some striking scene, which might at once convince all Venice of the reality of their pretensions. They prepared a magnificent entertainment, to which all their noble relations and acquaintances were invited. There, after a successive display of rich dresses, which they put on, and immediately after distributed among the attendants, they entered attired in the same coarse and thread-bare garments which they had worn on their first arrival at Venice. The company, much astonished at this transformation, were still more surprised, when by ripping open the patches and linings of these unseemly garments, they brought to view a most astonishing quantity of jewels, which had been secretly sewed into them. These the

travellers had judged to be the most safe and convenient mode of conveying home the wealth acquired by them in the East. The guests, electrified by this spectacle, immediately spread throughout Venice the report of what they had seen ; and the whole city was soon in a tumult of wonder and curiosity. Persons of all ranks, ages, and descriptions, flocked to the house to congratulate them, and make enquiries respecting their eastern adventures. Marco was principal orator ; and his society was courted by all the young nobles who were animated with any spirit of curiosity. At the same time he acquired high consideration in the state, and was invested with several important public employments. Amid these various occupations and amusements, the idea of writing a regular narrative of his travels seems never to have occurred to him. It was not then, as now, the established system, that every traveller who had passed the limits of his native country must make a book ; nor were there any booksellers to stimulate industry by the offer of a high copyright. The world, therefore, might have known the travels of Polo only through the dim medium of tradition, but for a signal disaster with which he was overtaken. A fleet being equipped against the Genoese, he was appointed to the command of one of the gallies ; but an action took place, in which the Venetians were totally defeated, and

Polo made prisoner. It was not, however, a remote and barbarous captivity into which he was carried. Genoa was then in the zenith of her glory, and shared with Venice most of the commerce, wealth, and learned curiosity which yet existed in Europe. The prison of the Venetian captive was visited by the most distinguished of the Genoese; and his tale was listened to with the same eager interest as in his native country. He was detained four years; in the course of which time, a gentleman of the name of Rustigielo, who had become extremely attached to him, and visited him almost daily, conceived the wish of communicating to the world that knowledge from which he himself had derived such high gratification. He proposed to write down the narrative from the verbal recitation of Marco; which, as it appeared no unpleasing mode of beguiling the solitude of a prison, was readily acceded to. To these circumstances we are indebted for this celebrated narrative, the manuscript copies of which are dispersed through all the libraries of Europe, but in a state so generally defective and corrupted, that it has required all the critical skill of Mr Marsden to restore it to any portion of its original purity. After the lapse of the four years, Marco returned to Venice, where he appears to have died at the age of seventy.

The favour at first shewn to the narrative of Marco was not long of being darkened by a cloud of unbelief. Such an ill fortune has attended the reputation of many of the most illustrious modern travellers. After the first agreeable emotions of wonder have subsided, men revert to the habitual train of their ideas, and do not willingly listen to any thing which passes the limits of their daily observation. Many also attempt to purchase cheaply the fame of superior sagacity, by deriding what they see prized by the multitude. Various Venetian wags, on hearing the vast scale on which the revenues, population, &c. of China and other oriental kingdoms were described, chose to designate Marco by the surname, or rather nickname, of Milione. After his death, a personage bearing his name was repeatedly introduced on the stage, and made to utter all the most extravagant and absurd fables which the fancy of the writer could suggest. Several friends, tender of the reputation of Marco, even urged him to expunge from his narrative a few of those marvels by which the belief of his countrymen was staggered; but this proposition was always rejected by him in the most indignant manner; and he insisted, that far from exaggeration, he had not even recorded half the wonders beheld during his peregrinations. Those, however, by whom his report could be confirmed

were so few in number, and were themselves so much exposed to a similar suspicion, that doubts continued to rest upon his authenticity, until the extended knowledge of modern times proved this unbelief to have arisen chiefly from the ignorance of those to whom Polo had addressed his narrative. The exploration of India, China, and the Oriental Islands, dispelled many doubts; since the accounts of the most authentic travellers, when carefully compared with those of Marco, were found to present a very close coincidence. More lately, the information collected by the British missions to the north of India, concerning countries before almost unknown, has proved his extreme accuracy as to these regions, where no check existed on his statements. Mr. Marsden, in his recent very learned edition of these travels, has collected and placed in the clearest light all the evidences of their authenticity, drawn both from ancient and modern sources. His labours have smoothed the task, which would otherwise have been difficult, of analyzing the description given by Marco of the eastern world.

The first country in Asia described by our traveller is called by him Turcomania, and is composed of the northern part of Asia Minor, situated along the shore of the Black Sea. It had recently been the seat of a flourishing Turk-

ish dynasty, which, though now crushed beneath the all-conquering dominion of Zingis, was destined soon to break forth with new energy, and to seat itself on the throne of the Eastern empire. Even then the finest carpets in the world were manufactured in this country. The travellers then ascended the lofty ridges of Armenia, and passed Mount Ararat, covered with eternal snow; and where, according to a still prevalent tradition, the ark of Noah first rested. He now gives a tolerably accurate description of Zorgania (Georgia) and the countries round the Caspian, which he carefully describes as a lake, entirely enclosed by land. This information was probably derived from the first journey of his father and uncle. Passing through Kurdistan, the predatory character of whose inhabitants is particularly noticed; they descended down the Euphrates to Baldach (Bagdad), then a splendid metropolis, distinguished by various rich manufactures, particularly embroidered silks, damasks, and flowered velvet. Its schools were also renowned; and the studies consisted, besides the Koran, of magic, physics, astronomy, geomancy, and physiognomy. Bagdad was no longer, however, the seat of the Caliphate, that empire having recently been subverted by the Moguls; of which revolution, however, the account collected by our traveller is neither distinct nor accurate. He dwells

at peculiar length on a signal miracle, said to have been achieved under the reign of the last caliph. That prince, imbued with deep enmity against the Christians, and coveting, moreover, their wealth, called them together, and reminding them of the text, by which faith amounting to a grain of mustard seed was declared sufficient to remove mountains, insisted on their giving proof, within ten days, of possessing this small portion, pointing out a mountain on which it might be exercised. The Christians, who felt within themselves no such gift, had recourse to tears and prayer; and one of them was at last, in a vision, referred to a shoemaker with one eye, whose life had been so exemplary, that, upon being placed before the mountain, and making the proper invocations, it immediately began to move. Our traveller, however, must not be too hardly dealt with for this legend, which, however firmly believed, is given only from the report of others. Such miracles formed part of the creed of every Christian church during that age; to which Polo therefore could not, as a good Catholic, refuse his assent.

From Bagdad Marco proceeds, by a somewhat abrupt transition, to give a general description of the Persian empire, beginning at Tauris and proceeding southwards. This could scarcely be in the direct line of his journey eastwards, though

it might be derived from some one of those performed by his uncles. He describes its fine and fertile region, interspersed with extensive tracts of desert, infested by numerous and desperate bands of robbers. Of these the most formidable appear then, as now, to have been the inhabitants of the southern province of Kerman, which consists in a great measure of sandy wastes. They are here called Keraunas; and the well founded apprehensions inspired by their ferocity were heightened, it appears, by superstitious terrors. It was believed that they possessed the power of enveloping the traveller in preternatural darkness, under cover of which he was robbed and murdered. The belief of this fabulous power was probably suggested by these banditti taking advantage of such mists as naturally occurred, when their intimate local knowledge would give them an infinite advantage over the casual passenger. It appears, however, that the Mogul conquerors, called here "their eastern lords," were making immense exertions to suppress these marauders, and to provide for the security of travellers, who passed from city to city over the immense tracts of intervening desert.

Ormus is described by our traveller, as by all who visited it during that age, as a commercial city of the first importance, and the great emporium of this part of Asia. This distinction was

maintained by keeping up the communication between Persia and India, and still more by being one of the great channels through which the commodities of India were conveyed to Europe. Marco, however, was surprised to observe the rudeness of the vessels employed in carrying on this extensive trade. They had only one mast; the planks were fastened with ropes and wooden pins instead of nails, and covered with a fibrous stuff like horse hair. The cargo was covered over with leather, above which were placed the fine Persian horses destined for the Indian market. After the occupation of Ormus by the Portuguese, the European mode of ship-building was early introduced; but Mr Marsden's research has proved that the native vessels on the opposite coast of Arabia are still constructed in a manner nearly similar to that which our traveller describes. All travellers to Ormus agree in the extreme and almost insufferable heat which it endures, owing probably to the vast extent of sandy desert over which the wind blows. In the summer months it is exposed to the burning simoom, which we are here told would be certainly fatal, did not the inhabitants while it lasts remain immersed to the chin in water. Mr Marsden in fact has collected modern testimony as to the existence of this mode of guarding against the severity of the heat.

From Ormus Marco proceeded through a fertile country to Cherman (Kerman), capital of the province of the same name. Three days after leaving Kerman, they entered upon a most dreary desert, where there was no water except a little in ponds, which was green, salt, and bitter. Men who drunk it were seized with diarrhœa, and even the horses suffered by its use. After seven days' travelling through this desert they came to Cobinham (Kubbees), where they found a manufacture of steel looking-glasses, and considerable mining operations. They then entered upon another desert still more desolate and dreary, where the water was so salt and bitter that even the beasts refused to drink it. After eight days' journey through it they came to Timochain, (supposed by Mr Marsden to be Damaghaun),* a populous kingdom in the northern part of Persia. Here he learned much of the dynasty of the Ismaelis or Assassins, the prince of which, under the appellation of the Old Man of the Mountain, was viewed in Europe with a mixture of fear and wonder. A full account is here given of the process by which he had established this power so

* I cannot, however, think with Mr Marsden, that he could visit the city of Damaghaun, which is so much farther west than Kubbees, that he must have been completely retracing his steps; besides, the time employed, as Mr Marsden himself remarks, by no means agrees with such a circuit.

much dreaded. In the recesses of the rugged and inaccessible mountains over which he reigned, he had formed a garden, adorned with all the finest plants and odoriferous flowers of the East. Having fixed upon some youth who appeared suited to his purpose, he caused him, by a soporific draught, to be thrown into a deep sleep, and transported into the enchanted garden. Here all was arranged to represent the paradise which Mahomet has promised after death to the gallant defenders of his faith. Besides the assemblage of every object that could delight the eye and the ear, the most delicious viands were supplied in abundance; while beautiful damsels, representing the Houris of Mahomet, lavished on him the most fascinating caresses. After remaining for several days steeped in this sea of voluptuous pleasure, the soporific draught was again administered, on awaking from which, he found all the gay scene departed, and nothing around him but the bleak and mountainous world to which his eyes had been accustomed. He was then called before the prince, and informed, that a foretaste had now been granted him, of the paradise destined for those who had shed their blood in the cause of Islamism, and that death, met in the execution of his commands, would at once introduce him to the permanent enjoyment of those brilliant and regretted mansions which he had just quitted.

The alacrity with which the initiated thenceforth threw themselves on the most certain and terrible forms of death, clearly indicated the success of this institution. These details have been viewed by learned writers as improbable ; and it has been supposed, that he merely bred up a few favourite youths amid the pleasures of his court, and thereby created that fanatical attachment, of which the effects were so obvious. I confess the report, as given by our traveller, appears to me more conformable to the principles of human nature. Habitual pleasures, besides their enervating influence, would be associated in their mind with earth, and would be ties binding them to it. But a mysterious and transient glimpse of an unknown bliss, thus suddenly opening and disappearing, was every way calculated to suggest to the passions and fancy, the voluptuous heaven of the prophet. In whatever manner he secured the dreadful faith of these unfortunate victims, his employment of it is well known. He was thus enabled to organize a system of regal assassination, which the strongest and the weakest were equally unable to escape. The greatest conquerors felt themselves compelled to purchase security by the payment of a large tribute. This terrible empire which he had established over the rulers of mankind, was not confined to this part of Asia. Several branches were extended into the mountain-

ous districts of Syria ; and the fall of several distinguished Christian princes, and the gay triumph with which the assassins met the death of torture to which they were condemned, caused Europe to learn, with fear and amazement, the existence of this extraordinary race. Their inaccessible haunts, and formidable means of vengeance, enabled them long to defy all efforts to extirpate them. At length Hulagou, filling the place of Great Khan, deemed it incumbent on him, as ruler of Asia, to root out this daring and destructive potentate. He gave orders to one of his lieutenants to reduce the castles of the Ismaelians, which, after a difficult warfare of three years, was at length effected. The accumulated vengeance of mankind then fell on that guilty race, and blood for blood was exacted ten-fold. Twelve thousand of these wretched fanatics are said to have perished in this final catastrophe.

From Timochain, Marco travelled eastward for six days over a fine country, interrupted however by a desert of forty or fifty miles. Passing Sapurgan (Shibhergaun), he came to Balach (Balkh), always a great capital and emporium of central Asia. Though still a large and magnificent city, it presented, in its ruined temples and spacious squares, the vestiges of a much greater degree of ancient grandeur. Proceeding then through Tokarestan, which is correctly described with its

capital Thaikan, or Tailkan, its hilly but fertile district, and the mines of pure and hard rock salt which are common in this part of Asia, he ascends the mountain region of Balashan (Badakshan). He alludes here to the mines of rubies long celebrated in the East, though they are stated by Mr Elphinstone not to be now wrought; also to the abundance of *lapis lazuli*. He introduces, probably upon hearsay, notices of Bascia, supposed by Mr Marsden to be Peshawer, and of Kesmur, (evidently Cashmire), his accounts of which sufficiently agree with modern information. At the end of this region he found a continued ascent of three days, till he arrived at a point surrounded by summits so lofty, that it appeared to him they must be the highest in the world. He was now on the elevated plain of *Pamer*, which he found destitute of habitations, of all animals except wild goats, and even of birds. On this lofty pinnacle of Asia, he remarks that difficulty in producing combustion, which was recently observed by De Luc in his travels among the Alps. Twelve days' journey along Pamer brought them to the region of Beloro (Beloor), still consisting of vast mountains with valleys intervening, and through which, during forty days, they were obliged to carry with them every article of provision. These regions have recently been described under the same features, and even the same name, by Mr Elphinstone and other recent travellers.

After passing the Beloor, the travellers arrived at Kashcar (Cashgar), which has long been a celebrated emporium of central Asia. It was then included in the dominion of the Great Khan. Our author notices the great number of merchants who resorted thither from all quarters of the world, though he complains of their avarice, and particularly of their extreme economy in eating and drinking. He next proceeded to Karkan, supposed the modern Yarkund, and which now enjoys a greater trade than Cashgar, though it appears at that time to have been much inferior. He now enters upon what may be considered as the great *Terra Incognita* of Asia. The first country mentioned is *Cotam* or *Khoten*, a name much celebrated by travellers, though the descriptions hitherto received of it are exceedingly vague. It is here represented as containing many cities and fortified places; as abounding in grain, wine, and every article of provision, and as excelling in trade and manufactures. These advantages seem to have enervated the courage of the inhabitants, and they had fallen under the wide extended dominion of the Great Khan. After Khoten occurs Peyn, (in some editions called Poine or Poin), a country mentioned by no traveller except our author. He describes it as extending five days' journey in the direction of east-north-east, and as abounding in

various produce, particularly in a beautiful species of jasper, mentioned by others as found in Kho-ten. He then came to Charchan, a country naturally fertile, but almost entirely laid waste by the repeated incursions of the Tartars. The inhabitants, on the approach of these invaders, were accustomed to seek refuge in the heart of the Great Desert, upon which they bordered; and they had even caverns dug in the sand, where they deposited their grain so carefully, that it was impossible to discover the place of concealment. Five days' journey brought the travellers to Lop, a considerable town situated on the borders of the great desert of Shamo or Cobi. This extensive tract, devoted to sterility, is represented in the Chinese maps as extending nearly two thousand miles from east to west. To cross it length-ways, therefore, would employ an almost immeasurable length of time, and a stock of provisions, the conveyance of which would be almost impossible. The plan of travellers was, to proceed along its northern limit to Lop, then cross it from north to south, and follow its southern limit to China. Camels are chiefly employed in the conveyance of merchandize, and serve as food in case of necessity. In passing along these dreary confines, imaginary terrors heightened the impression which the aspect of nature was calculated to inspire. Spirits were supposed to be ever

on the watch, to lead farther astray those who had once been so unfortunate as to lose sight of their travelling companions. Sometimes they made a sound of march, resembling that of the caravan, which the traveller endeavouring to reach, soon found himself involved in some perilous situation. Sometimes the sound of musical instruments, the beat of drums, and the clash of arms, was heard through the air. That such illusions should arise in the minds of men bewildered in the depth of such an awful solitude, was altogether natural; and the love of the marvellous would easily gain them credit among a people not yet able to appreciate the regularity and constancy of the laws of nature.

The territory on the south of the desert is called Tangut, a name, the extent and limits of which appear to be very wide and vague. Our traveller was chiefly struck with the religious ceremonies, which appear to belong to Shamanism, mixed with the remains of a ruder system. Peculiar reverence was paid to the dead, who were often kept embalmed in spices for two or three years, till the astrologers determined the planet under which they ought to be interred. In laying them in the grave, there were deposited along with them pieces of paper made from bark, on which were painted the figures of men, women, cattle, money, and other accommodations, which it was

supposed might be of use to them in the next world ; the remnants, doubtless, of that barbarous system so widely prevalent, by which these objects themselves were actually sacrificed over the tomb of the chieftain. Marco next notices Kamul, called by the Chinese Hamil or Hami, a district of extreme fertility, inhabited by a lettered, refined, and voluptuous people. Their character was disgraced, however, by an excess of hospitality, which led the landlords not only to supply the passing stranger with every accommodation, but even to give up their wives to him during the period of his stay. Mangu Khan, scandalized by this custom, had, on conquering the territory, issued a strict order against its continuance, which was observed for three years. At the end of that time, a deputation arrived from the inhabitants, stating, that since this fatal abolition, the history of Hami had been a continued series of calamity, and that the earth had even refused to yield its accustomed fruits. They implored, therefore, as the only hope for their sinking country, that they should be permitted to resume this ancient and venerable custom. The Khan, after serious deliberation, replied, that since they were so earnestly bent on their own shame, he would no longer insist on thwarting their inclination.

After Kamul, Marco found a country called Chinchintalas, which is very little known, though it seems to be mentioned in the Chinese histories under the name of Chen-chen. He then came to the cities of Succuir (Socheu) and Kampion (Kantcheu), situated in the projecting part of the Chinese province of Shensi, but then apparently included in Tangut. From Kampion a route struck off to Karracorum; and Marco takes this opportunity of introducing an account of that city, and of the manners, empire, and government of the Tartars. His description agrees with the authentic narratives of Carpini and Rubruquis, which it were needless to repeat, especially as Marco's opportunities of observation were less close and intimate. On the south he notices the country of Erginul, which seems to be Kokonor, and the city of Singui (Sining). This gives occasion to mention that singular animal called the Yak or Tibetan ox, and the profusion of glossy hair with which it is covered. Marco remained a year at Socheu, and gives no very distinct account of the route by which he entered China, though it appears to have been along the northern frontier. The next remarkable place mentioned by him is the magnificent hunting palace of the Khan at Shandu (Shang-tu), in the Tartarian province of Kartschin. The arrangements for carrying on the imperial chase seem, as

confirmed by every subsequent account, to have been truly immense. The park was sixteen miles in circuit; the palace handsome, and built, in a great measure, of marble; to which was added a large tent-shaped pavilion of bamboo, which could be put up or taken down at pleasure. The falcons amounted to two hundred; but the most handsome part of the establishment consisted of ten thousand horses and mares, the latter of which were milk-white, and held almost sacred, no one being allowed to cross their path or give them any molestation. Their milk could be drank only by the race of Zingis; and, on solemn occasions, was poured out as a libation to the gods. This palace appears to have been much frequented by magicians or Indian Yogis from Thibet and Cashmire, who endeavoured to procure reverence by rigorous penance, and by the squalid and hideous form in which they exhibited themselves. They pretended also to supernatural powers, by which they could stay the tempest, and prevent it from approaching the imperial palace. These powers were also most gratefully exhibited while the Khan sat at dinner, by lifting the drinking vessels from the side-board, and conveying them to the table without any visible agent. In return for these good deeds, they not only received regular maintenance, but could demand, whenever they thought

fit, a certain number of sheep for the purpose of sacrifice. The Khan is said to have shewn some predilection for Christianity, and to have even made a sort of offer, provided the Pope would send persons who would perform equal or greater miracles, to become a convert. Polo therefore deeply laments, that no individuals so gifted should ever have been furnished by his Holiness.

From the residence to which, or to some similar one, the Emperors of China have always resorted during the summer, Polo proceeded with the Khan to Cambalu. Cathay or modern China, and its capital Cambalu, had been always celebrated by early travellers as the most remarkable objects to be found in the continent of Asia. Accordingly, Cambalu was found to surpass in splendour all things that had yet been seen. The palace is surrounded by a wall and ditch thirty-two miles in circumference, each side being eight miles long. Within this enclosure, however, are contained all the royal armouries, as well as fields and meadows well stocked with game. The proper palace is contained within a square of four miles in circumference; which space it entirely fills, with the exception of a large court in the middle. There is one story only, but the roof is very lofty, and entirely covered with painting and gilding; while dragons and various animals are carved upon the sides of the halls. Conti-

guous to the palace is a mount entirely covered with the finest trees which can be collected from all parts of the empire. It is called the Green Mount; and the hollow left by the earth dug up for its construction, is occupied by a lake. With regard to the city, it is divided into two, Cambalu Proper, or the old city, and Taidu, or the new city. This last had been built by Kublai, in consequence of his suspecting the fidelity of the inhabitants of Cambalu; and the two form what are now called the Chinese and Tartar cities. Taidu forms a complete square, each side of which is six miles in length; and the streets are all laid out by the line in so straight a manner, that on entering one gate you see across to the other; and the whole city is arranged like the divisions upon a chess-board. Upon the whole, the description both of the palace and city so strikingly coincides with that of the most respectable modern travellers, as to leave no apparent doubt of our author having been a real visitor. The description of the court entertainments, of the mode of governing, the arrangement of the posts, and the distribution of grain in times of scarcity, exhibit the Chinese system, combined with some of the yet unaltered Tartar features.

After visiting various cities of Cathay or northern China, our traveller appears to have accom-

panied an expedition made by the Khan into the countries of Mien (Ava) and Bengala (Bengal). After this he made an excursion into the country of Mangi or southern China. This is described to have been still more fertile and improved than the northern half, and to be the most magnificent and richest kingdom known in the eastern world. The capital, called Quinsai, completely dazzled his eyes, and drew forth a description so splendid, that it has been one main ground upon which his veracity has been implicated. We cannot much wonder if, on beholding a scene so far eclipsing all that he had seen in Europe, or even in the East, he should have been betrayed into a certain amplification; but allowing for this, all the leading features are justified by modern observation. Quinsai, he says, signifies “the celestial city;” it is a hundred miles in circuit, has on one side a beautiful lake of clear water, and on the other a large river, from which canals are distributed through all the streets of the town. To cross these, bridges are erected, amounting, it is commonly said, to the number of 12,000; and, while waggons are passing over, boats with masts are sailing beneath. The lake is surrounded with the villas of the mandarins and great men; and, in summer, is crowded with pleasure parties. At the distance of every four miles within the city, there is a market-

square of half a mile, which, on three days in the week, is crowded with persons bringing in from the country game, flesh, fruit, fish, with provisions and necessaries of every description. The character of the inhabitants is effeminate and pacific, entirely devoted to pomp, luxury, and pleasure. The courtezans are not, as at Kambalu, confined to the suburbs, but are found in every part of the city, and are so skilled in all the arts of seduction, that strangers who had once been in their society, remained as it were enchanted, nor could ever divest themselves of the impression, or cease to wish returning to Quinsai. The unwarlike character of the people had rendered them an easy conquest to the Great Khan; and Quinsai was now held by a Tartar garrison. The inhabitants, however, still retained so much spirit as to view these invaders with horror and detestation.

It appears evident that Quinsai is the modern Hang-tcheou-fou; which, though now degraded into a provincial capital, still retains marks of having been such a city as Polo describes. The circuit of the walls is about sixty miles, and might once have been greater. The lake, the river, the numerous canals and bridges, though perhaps not quite so numerous, and the extensive manufactures of silk, which are noticed by Polo, all occur in the descriptions of the modern city.

Our author describes Nankin and many other great cities of southern China; the modern scite of which is traced by Mr Marsden with equal industry and precision.

After this long analysis, it will not be in our power to follow Marco in equal detail through his voyage homeward. He touched at the kingdom of Ziamba (Tsiompa). Here he learned much of Great Iava or Java, though he did not touch either at that island or at Borneo. He then sailed southward, and passing the small island of Pentan (Bintang), came to Java Minor, under which name he designates Sumatra. He appears then to have sailed along its coast through the Straits of Malacca; where Mr Marsden, who is here quite at home, has accurately traced his course. From Sumatra he sailed to Ceylon, noticing on his way the island Angaman (Andaman). After some stay at Ceylon he sailed to *Maabar*, which, however, is not Malabar, but Coromandel. He notices its fine cottons; also its various superstitions, as the worship of the cow, the abstinence from animal food, the courtezans dedicated to the service of the temple, and the acts of voluntary self-sacrifice to their gods, as well as the custom of females burning themselves after the death of their husbands. Then passing Cape Comorin, he sailed along the coasts of Malabar, where he notices

the abundance of pepper and ginger ; then along that of Guzerat and Cambaia. He appears now to have sailed across the Indian Ocean, and home by the Red Sea. On this voyage he collected information respecting Madagascar, Zinzibar, and the eastern coast of Africa. Socotora he seems to have touched at. He was told also of two fabulous islands ; the one of which was inhabited by males, the other by females only. The two parties met during three months of the year, while during the rest of it they remained separate. This repetition of the tale of the Amazons, the origin of which is difficult to trace, appears in several other of the early voyages. In sailing up the Red Sea, Polo heard of Aden, Abyssinia, and other towns and states situated upon that Gulf. Before closing his narrative, the author, wishing, apparently, to complete his survey of Asia, gives some particulars of its most northern extremities, Russia, the country of the Samoyedes, Tanguses, &c. Though these accounts are doubtless upon hearsay, they are by no means devoid of correctness. From Alexandria he set sail for Venice.

CHAPTER IV.

TRAVELS IMMEDIATELY SUBSEQUENT TO MARCO POLO.

*Oderic of Portenau.—Sir John Mandeville.—Ricold de Monte
Crucis.*

THE zeal with which mankind were now inspired for traversing the unknown regions of the East, was not confined to those who had commercial objects in view. Oderic of Portenau, a Minorite friar, was seized with an unbounded desire to travel through the unknown regions of the infidel world. He spent accordingly many years in this journey, and on his return dictated a narrative which has never perhaps enjoyed the reputation it merited. It contains, indeed, many facts, at once curious and authentic, not derived apparently from any other source. It is true, a flavour of the marvellous runs through it, and the writer feels evidently a pride in the wonderful things which he is able to relate; but, if due allowance be made for the impression made upon the mind by new and strange spectacles, and for a too ready belief of the facts reported to him by others, there

will not perhaps remain any positive fiction or exaggeration. Oderic seems to have stood in much awe of the unbelief of his readers, and hints upon every subject, that he could have told things more wonderful still; but that they were such as no mortal either could or would believe, unless he had seen them with his own eyes. It were to be wished that our traveller had placed more faith in the credence of his readers, as these incredible events might probably have proved to be only real ones, curiously coloured. Oderic's credit has suffered a good deal from the coincidence of many of his statements with those of Sir John Mandeville, and this class of writers have been loosely represented as pilfering from each other without limit or scruple. But there cannot be the least doubt here which is the original, and which is the copy; for Oderic died in 1331, a year or two before Sir John ever pretended to set out on his travels; and a man cannot surely be branded as a thief, because another has stolen from him. There never was a writer who copied less than Oderic, unless it be from some yet unknown source; for there is scarcely a single statement derived from, or even coinciding with his predecessor Marco Polo; in so much, that I cannot help thinking he must have intended his work as a supplement to the narrative of that celebrated traveller.

Oderic set out from Constantinople, and, crossing to Pera, proceeded along the southern shore of the Euxine to Trapezonda (Trebisond). Here he beheld with great delight a very strange spectacle, namely, a certain man leading about with him more than four thousand partridges. They followed him, and, when he lay down, flew about him like chickens. He next ascended into the mountainous regions of Armenia, and came to the city Azaron (Erzerum), reported to have the most elevated scite in the world. In this country was said to be the mountain (Ararat) on which the ark of Noah had rested ; but which had baffled every attempt of mortal power to ascend it. He then entered Persia, and came to Tauris, “ that “ great and royal city,” said to surpass any in the world for the extent of its commerce, and so commodiously situated, that “ unto it all the nations of the whole world in a maner may resort.” He then visited Baku, on the Caspian, described as “ a great and cold city.” He there joined a caravan of merchants going to India, but stopped at Cassan (Casbin), which he imagines to be the city whence the Magi set out to view our Saviour’s nativity. He then passed along what he calls “ The Sea of Sand, (the great salt desert), “ a most wonderful and dangerous thing.” The next city he reached was Comum (Koom), “ a “ huge and mightie citie of old time.” He after-

wards came to the land of Chaldea, then in possession of the Saracens. The men of this country, he says, are handsome, have their hair combed and adorned like that of our women, and wear on their head golden turbans adorned with pearls. The women, on the contrary, are ugly, and dressed merely in a coarse robe of cotton cloth. Passing by Ormus, whose wealth and trade he notices, but complains of the intensity of the heat, he arrived at Tana. Here a dreadful tragedy had lately been acted. Four Romish monks who were there resident, had, in consequence of some dispute in which the family where they lived were involved, been called before the cadi. In the course of the examination, some religious discussion arose, and the friars endeavoured, by many arguments, to prove the exclusive excellence of the Christian faith. The cadi, in reply, merely said, "What then do you say of Mahomet?" The question, and the tone in which it was put, proved to the friars that they were on delicate ground. They said, therefore, that having explained the doctrine of Christ, they left it to himself to judge what was to be thought of Mahomet. The cadi, however, still loudly demanding their own opinion, zeal at last prevailed over prudence, and they announced that he was the son of perdition, and was in hell with the devil his father, whither all who professed the same impious faith would ere long

follow. At this response loud cries arose through the assembly, and orders were issued, that the friars should instantly be led to the stake. Several miracles are reported as performed for their deliverance ; but the affair ended in their being cruelly put to death. Oderic, struck with deep sorrow and veneration, went to the place where they had been interred, and having dug up their bones, carried them with him to India as precious relics. On their passage a violent storm arose, and as the prayers of the Saracens were found to avail nothing, the master gave notice, that unless he could procure a favourable breeze without delay, he, with all his bones, would be forthwith committed to the deep as a propitiatory sacrifice. On this dread warning, Oderic instantly began to pray most fervently, and to lavish promises upon the Holy Virgin, provided she would assist him in this extremity. Our Lady, however, turned a deaf ear to the offered bribes, and he was on the point of being consigned to a watery grave, when he bethought himself of going privily to the stern, and throwing one of the bones into the sea, whereupon, he asserts, a prosperous wind instantly arose, and continued till their arrival at the destined port. Our traveller is now on the coast of Minibar (Malabar), where the first object that struck him was the immense quantity of pepper which is cultivated ; and he thinks “ it is not so

“ plentiful in any other part of the world as it is
“ there.” He gives an account of the worship
which the natives pay to the ox or cow, “ placing
“ him in a solemn and publique place, and calling
“ him an holy beast ;” also the veneration in which
they hold the several excrements of that animal,
and the pious uses in which they are employed ;
“ so that with them they wash their face, their
“ eyes, and all their five senses, and then they
“ say, that they are sanctified for all that day.”
He mentions also the consecration of virgins to
the service of their idols ; the human sacrifices
offered in honour of them, and the custom of
burning wives after the death of the husband ;
adding, “ many other heinous and abominable vil-
“ lanies doth that brutish beastly people commit.”

From Minibar, Oderic proceeded to the coast
of *Mobar*, which from Marco Polo’s relation ap-
pears to be Coromandel. Here his attention was
almost exclusively attracted by the ceremonies of
a great temple, apparently that of Juggernaut, to
which he says “ the Indians go in pilgrimage, as
“ we do to St Peter. Some go with halters about
“ their necks, some with their hands bound be-
“ hind them, some others with knives sticking in
“ their arms or legs ; and if after their peregrina-
“ tion the flesh of the wounded arm festereth or
“ corrupteth, they account that limb to be holy.”
He describes particularly the procession made by

the car of that impious deity. He says, "Placing the said idol in a most stately and rich chariot, they carry him out of their temple with songs, and with all kind of musical harmonie, and a great company of virgins go procession-wise, two and two in a rank, singing before him. Many pilgrims also put themselves under the chariot wheels, to the end that their false god may go over them; and all they over whom the chariot runneth are crushed in pieces, and divided asunder in the midst, and slaine. Yea, and in doing this they think themselves to die most holily and securely."

From Mobar Oderic sailed in fifty days to *Lammori* (or Lambri), the name by which all the early travellers designate the northern extremity of Sumatra. In the south he says there is a kingdom called *Simoltra*. He describes the abundance of grain, gold, silver, and *camphor*; and he charges the inhabitants with licentious manners, and with cannibalism. This last has always been at least a prevailing report, though he certainly exaggerates when he says, that "the merchants bring fat men, selling them to the inhabitants as we sell hogs, who immediately kill and eat them." From Sumatra he proceeded to Java. He was here struck with the great plenty of cloves, nutmegs, and other spices, and particularly with certain trees yielding, as he says, meal,

honey, and “ the most deadly poison in the “ world.” The poison tree of Java is well known, while the honey and the meal is said to be drawn by incision from “ mighty huge trees,” evidently the *sago-palm*. He notices the immense size and number of canes, some rising to the height of sixty paces, others spreading along the ground like grass. The sea which surrounds this island is chiefly remarkable for the multitude of fishes which come swimming to the shore, so that “ for a great distance nothing can be seen but the “ backs of fishes ;” and he adds, that they present themselves to the natives to be taken or not as they may incline. Marvellous as this report may seem, I am assured by a friend who has long resided in the island, not only that these seas abound with fish beyond almost any other in the world, but that the inhabitants have them tamed and trained so as to come in obedience to a call or whistle. Oderic then says, that he went southwards by the ocean through many countries and islands, till he came to one two thousand miles in circuit, and which the Great Khan had attempted in vain to reduce to subjection. The situation might suggest New Holland, but I suspect that he has mistaken the direction, and means Borneo. The men and women, he says, go naked, and have dog’s faces ; a wild exaggeration probably of the deformed aspect of the Papuas, or oriental

negroes. He next notices, rather out of its place, Sylan (Ceylon), whence he proceeds to Mancî, or Southern China. He came to a city called Kastan, about twice the size of Bologna, and in which there was a monastery containing three thousand religious men, and eleven thousand idols, the least of which he says "appeared as big as our Christopher." These images were entertained every day with a splendid banquet, at which our author was once present. The dishes he says "were good to eat, and fuming hote;" but the priests, after allowing the idols to inhale the steam, eat up the food themselves, "so they fed their dumb gods with the smoke only."

Oderic's descriptions of Canasia (Quinsay), Cambaleth (Cambalu), of the military and civil establishment of the empire, and of all the pomp and glory of the Great Khan, coincide closely with the reports of Marco Polo, and may perhaps be in part borrowed from him. The following sentence, however, includes two Chinese characteristics, of which I do not recollect any preceding mention. "It is accounted a great grace for the men of that country to have long nailes upon their fingers, which nailes they may folde about their hands; but the grace and beauty of their women is to have small and slender feet; and therefore the mothers, when the daughters are young, do bind up their feet, that they may

“not grow great.” In treating of Tibet, he is, I think, the first who mentions the Grand Lama as their “*Pope*, being the prince and head of all idolaters.” He finally gives an account of the Senex de Monte, (Old Man of the Mountain), which does not differ materially from that of Marco Polo. He appends a very odd narrative of a gloomy valley, into which whoever entered died instantly. Oderic, however, ventured into its recesses, recommending himself to God, and continually repeating, “The word was made flesh;” which precautions exempted him from the fate with which he was threatened. He saw the valley, however, filled with numerous dead bodies, and dreadful visages staring him in the face; while the hills above rung with the sweetest sound of musical instruments, not touched apparently by any mortal hand. I have never, unless in this author, and his copyist Mandeville, met with this story, or any thing resembling it, and can only conjecture that some predatory band having stationed themselves in this valley, may, in order to deter intruders, have sought to throw round it this veil of supernatural terror.

It is added at the end of the narrative, that Oderic was preparing to set out a second time on his journey throughout the East; but this design was interrupted by his death, which took place on the 14th January 1331.

The next narrative to be noticed is one which came with much higher pretensions, and has attained greater celebrity. This is the one put forth by our learned countryman, Sir JOHN MANDEVILLE, whom his biographer states to have been born at St Albans, and, after laying in a large store of theological and medical knowledge, to have set out on his long peregrinations. He spent thirty-four years in traversing the whole East, visiting not some, but all the regions which had then excited the curiosity and wonder of mankind. He died in 1372, at Liege, where a magnificent inscription was placed upon his tomb, and where the boots and spurs with which he rode through the world, were long carefully preserved. Bale, his biographer, has recorded certain weighty sentences, in which, before his death, he deplores the laxity of morals, the corruption of the church, and the decay of religion. Whatever justice there might be in these strictures, it has been doubted whether Sir John was one, on whom the iniquities of the age might have been expected to weigh so very heavily. It is certain that the reproach of a fertile invention, to which travellers are so much exposed, has been directed against him in a very peculiar manner. Purchas, even in making a short extract, thinks it necessary to warn his reader, "that he doth it not from any love of lies," but

he insinuates that Sir John, like the good Samaritan, though honest himself, had suffered by falling among thieves. Who the thieves may be to whom the learned collector alludes, it is difficult to say, since numerous, and seemingly authentic, copies of the narrative, said to be written by himself in three languages, have come down to our time. It is certain that the enlarged views of the present age have dispelled, in a great measure, that blind scepticism with which the early travellers had long been regarded. Judicious criticism has pointed out at once their merits and the source of their blemishes. But it seems very doubtful how far any benefit can accrue to our worthy knight from such an examination. It may be asked, indeed, since his narrative, like the other alluded to, contains a number of authentic statements, mixed with extravagant and erroneous ones, why he should not obtain the same credit and the same indulgence with them? A careful scrutiny, however, will soon shew, that while the one were real travellers, misled sometimes by false reports and appearances, the other copied from his predecessors all that was genuine, and supplied the rest, without scruple, from the stores of his own imagination.

We have had repeated occasion to observe, that the miracles with which these early wanderers are subject to embellish their narratives, are

given upon hearsay, and relate to distant times and regions ; and they can be blamed only for a too ready belief. Unfortunately, Sir John, in transplanting these flowers to his own parterre, has thought it conducive to his credit to represent himself as *seeing* all that others only heard of. Thus, the early travellers report much of a Christian prince who had his dominion in the heart of Asia, called Prester John ; but their accounts are indistinct, and evidently upon hearsay. Mandeville saw him seated on the throne of India, surpassing in splendour all other sovereigns, and entertaining at his table twelve archbishops, and two hundred and twenty bishops. Many writers, in the infancy of science, have collected reports of a nation of pigmies, inhabiting some remote and unvisited region. Mandeville alone asserts, that he actually travelled through their country, and that they came dancing to meet him. Similar reports have prevailed of a nation of giants ; but no one except our worthy knight ever ventured to say that they had seen men whose stature amounted to twenty-four feet. Equally fatal to our author's credit are his attempts to improve upon and enlarge the wonders narrated by others. Oderic mentions " the sea of sand," no unapt image of those deserts of moving sand which cover a great extent of the east of Persia. This is not enough for Mandeville, unless

the sea of sand have a river of rocks, which, after traversing a great extent of country, discharges itself into it. He is not ashamed to add, that this sea contains fishes greater in number, and more exquisite in quality, than are found in any one composed of the watery element. It happened unluckily too for Sir John, that the geographical notices in these early narratives are too vague and desultory to give any distinct idea of the relative position of the different countries. It was inconsistent, however, with his high pretensions to learning and wisdom, not to treat the subject with greater precision ; and, in attempting to do so, he has fallen into the most unheard-of blunders, such as could by no possibility have been committed by a real traveller. It need only be mentioned, that he describes India as situated fifty days' journey to the east of Cambalu (Pekin), and thereupon enters upon a long lamentation on its distance and difficulty of approach, compared with China. I say nothing of his long narrative borrowed from the romances of chivalry, respecting the exploits of Duke Oger the Dane, nor of the account of them which he saw painted on the walls of the palace at Java.

Here it may be asked, from what source then Mandeville could draw those authentic facts, of which no inconsiderable number are certainly to be found in his narration ? It may be answered,

that there existed already in Europe sufficient materials from which these could be supplied. He has incorporated nearly the whole of Oderic's relation into his own ; and it is but justice to add, that he repeatedly quotes the name of that writer, though in a somewhat odd and equivocal manner. The narratives of Carpini, of Rubruquis, and even of Marco Polo, might easily enable him to describe the manners of the Tartars. These materials seem quite sufficient to furnish him with all his valuable matter ; while what he has added of his own consists, I think quite exclusively, of monstrous lies. His accounts of Syria and Palestine are more accurate, and much less chequered with fable than the rest ; it is therefore possible that he might have visited those countries. On the other hand, it is equally possible that he might compile from the report of the numerous pilgrims whom the piety of the age induced to visit Jerusalem ; and the degree in which these countries were known to Europe, might impose a check on his inventive faculties. With regard to any ulterior regions, there seems no room for hesitation in pronouncing his work to be a pure and entire fabrication.

I CANNOT precisely ascertain at what period, or in what capacity, RICOLD de Monte Crucis, a Romish friar, traversed a considerable part of

Asia. His travels are only stated to have been translated into French in 1351, whence it appears probable, that they were performed about the time of Oderic and Mandeville.

Ricold began with making the tour of the Holy Land; but as nothing occurs here which will not be found in the numerous peregrinations thither, we shall not dwell on this part of the narrative. Proceeding southwards through Syria, he fell in with the Turkmen, whom he represents as a bestial people, living under ground like moles, yet sometimes issuing from their caves, forming mighty hosts, and carrying on war with the greatest cruelty. Their most deadly enmity is said to be against the Greeks, who view them with the deepest dread; so that on the approach of the Turkmen to any city, they come out with chains in their hands to be used in tying themselves. This hatred is said to originate in the conduct of the Greeks towards the Latins, who came to assist them in their wars against the Saracens, but to whom they treacherously administered quicklime as bread, which being eaten with confidence as coming from Christians, many died in consequence. It is probable, however, that the author proceeds rather upon his own feelings and sentiments as a Latin, than upon any concern the Turkmen were likely to take in such a ground of discord. He came next among the Tartes

(Tartars), whom he describes as “horrible and “wonderful,” differing from all other nations in language, aspect, and manners. They hate cities, houses, and all habitations, and destroy them wherever they find them. They expect to be treated every where with the highest honour and reverence, yet return no thanks, deeming it only their due. When they invade a country, and experience any violent heat or cold, they consider it as brought on by the inhabitants, and think themselves well entitled to seize from the authors of the evil their clothes, or any other means of warding it off. They honour, he says, all ladies in the world, and chiefly their own. These dames appear often on horseback, armed like their husbands in bow and quiver, but are chiefly distinguished by their head-dresses, which are greater and higher than any other in the world; in commemoration, it is said, of a victory obtained through their means. No bounds are set to the ideas which the Tartars entertain of the glory and magnificence of the Great Khan, and he of his own. It is supposed than even the beasts cannot eat or drink unless at his will. One missionary being introduced to the emperor, was asked, if, in passing, he had heard the birds proclaiming the greatness of their monarch? The father, careful of his conscience, yet willing to study the rules of prudence, replied, that he certainly had heard

the birds, but not understanding their language, had not been aware that it related to his Imperial Majesty. Amid all this pride, his throne cannot be very secure, if, as our author asserts, there be a regular *formula* appointed for his assassination. When any one, he says, wishes to murder the Great Khan, he must do it without letting a drop of blood fall to the ground ; he must then marry all his wives : upon the faithful observance of which regulations, he may hope to be himself exalted to the office of Khan.

Our friar appears to have returned by way of Armenia, and describes himself as passing by Eteron (Erzeroum), the neighbourhood of which he justly describes as a very high and cold region. He adds, that the effects of the climate were such, that a nose had fallen off from some, a hand or a foot from others, and from several all their limbs. Such deficiencies, if they really existed, could only have been the result of that cruel system of mutilation adopted in the Persian wars. He then came to Ararat, on which the ark of Noah had rested. Mountains of salt were then found, which were quarried like rocks. From these mountains he descended into a beautiful plain, in the centre of which stood Tauris, “ the mistress city of Persia.” Here he was particularly struck by the view of a wild ass (zebra), tinted and stained with such various colours, as to surpass all other

animals in beauty. He then passed through the country of the Curts (Kurds), of which he draws a most frightful picture. Almost naked, with long beards, and their hair dishevelled, they leap over the mountains and rocks like wild goats. "They bear red crests like cocks in sign of pride." No one is allowed to marry a wife till he has committed some great act of robbery or murder; and the more wicked the deed, the greater and richer is the wife. He describes them as "homicides, robbers, and traitors, delighting particularly in the massacre of Frenchmen, and above all, of monks." Of all men it should seem that our friar had the least reason to give such a character; for when he and his companions were on the point of perishing among the mountains, the Kurds came in search of them, took them out of the snow, and carried them home, where they kindled a fire to warm them, and supplied victuals, till they were quite recovered. He merely supposes, however, that God, by a special miracle, had softened for a moment their flinty hearts, and does not admit hence any inference in favour of their general character.

In his journey down the Tigris our friar saw Ninive, destroyed but now rebuilt, (probably Mosul), and was edified by viewing the hill where Jonas had dwelt and preached, and the fountain whence he had drank. At length he

reached Baudas (Bagdad), and felt great pleasure in preaching in that great seat of Saracen power. He gives indeed a very high idea of the tolerance, courtesy and humanity, which reigned in this imperial seat of the Caliphs. He says, they "received him, poor friar, as if he had been an angel of God." They treated him, during his whole stay, with a courtesy and hospitality which knew no bounds; so that he might have thought himself in a convent of his own order. They lived also in the greatest harmony, and treated each other as brethren. Our friar is careful to warn us, that none of these circumstances diminished in any degree the utter abhorrence with which he viewed them; but he thinks, that by way of reproach to Christians, he may be indulged in reluctantly devoting a chapter to the "works of perfection" performed by the Musulmen. No kindness of theirs ever induced him to go so far as to eat with them, which afflicted much these good people, as this is considered on both sides as the pledge of abstaining from all injury. They heard with pleasure the preaching of Christ, and expressed respect for his name, though without any apparent disposition to become converts.

CHAPTER V.

TRAVELS THROUGH ASIA DURING THE AGE OF TIMUR.

Clavijo.—Schildtberger.—Ambassadors of Shah Rokh.

THE empire of Zingis was too vast, and composed of too heterogeneous parts, to remain long in an entire state. It was soon divided, weakened, and dismembered, and room was left for some new conqueror to arise in his stead. The fine and fertile regions upon the Oxus and Jaxartes maintained a numerous and warlike population, which, if united under one head, was capable of achieving the greatest conquests. Such a head was found in Timur, who raised himself from a petty chief to the government of all these countries, and wielded their resources with an energy which rendered his name throughout Asia as great and terrible as that of his mightiest predecessors. His sphere, however, was different, and lay more in the south of that continent. The vast and naked plains of Muscovy and Poland did not attract his view, while the fine empires of

Persia and India presented more tempting objects of ambition. His invasion of Asia Minor, and triumphant war against Bajazet, the head of the Musulman power, led to relations between him and the princes of Christian Europe. In 1393 Henry III. of Castile sent two of his nobles to congratulate the Tartar conqueror, and establish an alliance. Timur received them well, and sent back an ambassador of his own, who returned accompanied by a new Spanish embassy, at the head of which was Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo. Clavijo returned in 1406, and wrote a valuable and authentic narrative of his journey, which, as no translation has appeared out of the original Spanish,* will probably be new to most of my readers.

We shall begin with Constantinople, which our traveller describes as still a very great city, surrounded with walls seven or eight miles in circumference, and containing three thousand churches. He gives little other description, his whole attention having apparently been engrossed in pondering with deep reverence upon the various

* I have been informed that a translation was made by Lord Valentia; but it has not been published, and indeed the work is so loaded with details, that the full perusal of it might be found somewhat tedious.

relics preserved in its churches and those of Pera. He was shewn the spear with which our Saviour was pierced, with the blood still fresh on it; several of the hairs which the Jews pulled from his beard; the reed which was put into his hands; the sponge on which were placed the gall and vinegar; the vestment for which lots were cast; and, finally, the stone on which he was laid in descending from the cross, and which appeared still wet with the tears of St John and the Marys. Elsewhere were exhibited a small bone of the arm of Mary Magdalene, an arm of St Anne with the hand, and an arm of St Stephen without the hand, three heads of the eleven thousand virgins, and a small cross, formed out of the wood of the true cross. After contemplating these and sundry similar objects with unspeakable delight, he prepared to pursue his journey. He hired a galiot at Pera, and set sail on the Black Sea, then called Mare Mayor. In passing through the channel of Constantinople, he saw, on one side, the land of Turkey, and on the other, that of Grecia or the Greek empire; afterwards he found the southern coast entirely in possession of the Turks, who were now masters of Asia Minor. The Venetians and Genoese were then disputing with each other its navigation. Some Genoese vessels, stationed at an island called Finogia, were on the watch for a fleet

of Venetian merchant ships expected richly laden from Tana. Soon after passing Finogia they were overtaken by a violent tempest, which stranded both the vessels, and they with difficulty saved themselves and the presents destined for Timur. Here they were kindly received by Micer Ambrosio, a Genoese merchant, who supplied them with his own carack, in which they placed the presents, and made the best of their way back to Pera.

After this disaster the embassy made no attempt to renew their voyage during the winter, but, on the approach of spring, they again hired a Venetian galiot. They set sail on the 20th March 1404, and experienced a prosperous voyage. In sailing along the coast of Asia Minor they touched at several ports, most of which were found in possession of the Turks; but that of Samastro (Amassero) belonged to the Genoese, who had also a castle at Simisa (Samsoon). Sinopoli (Sinope) was found in possession of a chief called Espandiar, who had joined the party of Timur in his war against Bajazet; in return for which he had obtained a large accession of territory. He had now collected forty thousand men to make head against the son of the Grand Turk, who was coming to avenge this junction with so formidable an enemy. At length they arrived at Trapisonda (Trebisond), which they

found in possession of a Greek prince assuming the title of emperor. He was connected by marriage with the Emperor of Constantinople, but paid tribute both to Timur and the Grand Turk. The Venetians and Genoese had each a castle adjoining the city.

The embassy spent eleven days at Trebisonde, supplying themselves with horses and provisions for the land journey which they were now to undertake. On the 26th April they set out, and found the country very abrupt and mountainous. Sometimes the road was good, but in one place it was so confined between a high rock and the river, that they could not pass without extreme difficulty. The castles where they slept were ascended by steps cut in the rock, or by wooden bridges, and there were instances when, unable to reach one in time, they were obliged to sleep in the open air. Through these hardships they reached Arsinga (Erzeroum), the first city belonging to Timur. Clavijo learned here the origin of the war between the Prince and the Grand Turk. Zaratan, the ruler of Arsinga, seeing himself in danger of being crushed by Bajazet, applied for aid to the Tartar monarch, who sent a message to the Turk, requesting him to spare a prince whom he considered as an ally. Bajazet had never heard of Timur, and wondered much what petty chief had so far forgot himself

as to send such a message. He returned, therefore, an answer fraught with the highest possible insult. Timur instantly broke up from his camp on the plains of Persia, marched upon Arsinga, and thence to Sabastria (Sivas). Bajazet sent his son with two hundred thousand men to relieve this city; but on his arrival it was found already taken and destroyed, and the enemy departed. Timur immediately after invaded Syria, vanquished the Turcomans (called here the White Tartars), and took Damascus. Soon after he again entered Asia Minor, and laid siege to Angora, when Bajazet coming up with his whole force, a general battle took place between these terrible warriors. The contest is well known to have issued in the defeat and captivity of Bajazet, who was shut up by the conqueror in an iron cage, and afterwards put to death.

The embassy was received at Arsinga with the greatest honours; and after being feasted for several days, was supplied in the most ample manner with every thing necessary to continue its route. They proceeded eastward to the banks of the Corras (Aras or Araxes), and followed its stream, which led them along the foot of Ararat, here distinguished as the mountain on which the ark of Noah had rested. The road was difficult, the river being overhung by rocks and snowy mountains, from which torrents were continually

pouring. Seven or eight leagues before reaching Ararat, they came to Calmarin, a great and fortified city, supposed here to be the first founded after the flood. Clavijo mentions another, called Hoy (Choi), and a number of castles. At Hoy Armenia terminates, and Persia begins. Here they met with an ambassador from the Sultan of Babylon, also on his way to Timur with various presents, all valuable; but the most remarkable one was a *beast*, which struck the whole embassy with wonder and admiration. Its body resembled that of a horse, its head that of a stag; but the most striking features were the length of its fore legs, and of its narrow neck, each of which measured sixteen palms; so that, when it raised its neck, it was a wonder to be seen. It could thus reach the top of a high wall, and could browse without difficulty on the leaves of lofty trees. The writer calls it *jornufa*; and the description evidently points out the giraffe or camelopard, a native of central and southern Africa.

After a few days farther travelling, the embassy arrived at Tauris, described as a great commercial city, containing two hundred thousand houses and upwards, and reported to have formerly been much more populous. It contained also very fine edifices, particularly a palace, represented as having contained twenty thousand apartments, but which had recently been demolished in the man-

ner which will be presently related. The Genoese had once obtained permission to build a castle here ; but the king immediately repented of his concession, and observed to them, that it appeared to him inconsistent with the character of merchants to erect fortifications, adding, that if they attempted to do so, he would cut off their heads ; which last argument appeared to them so cogent, that they withdrew all attempt to make good their claim. From Tauris they proceeded to Sultania, which, though not so large, carried on a still more extensive commerce. In the months of June, July, and August, numerous caravans passed through it, particularly from India, bringing spices of every description. Here lived, in a private station, Miassa Miraxa, the eldest son of Timur, to whom that conqueror had once entrusted the entire government of his Persian dominions. Miassa Miraxa, ambitious to distinguish himself, could think of no other means than by destroying what others had erected. He began, therefore, to demolish all the fine edifices of Tauris, particularly the splendid palace already mentioned. He then removed to Sultania, and was proceeding to indulge in the same amusements, when he learned that his father was in full march to put him to death. The prince instantly went to meet him, and on his knees implored pardon. At the entreaty of friends, his life was

spared ; but he was stripped of all his dignities, and one of his sons appointed to reign in his stead.

From Sultania the embassy proceeded through the north of Persia by Teheran, till they reached Damogan (Daumghaun), which was then established as the military capital of the kingdom. The chief ornament of this place consisted in four towers, raised as high as a man could throw a stone, and composed of human heads ; a layer of mud and of heads being placed alternately. The materials for this structure were afforded by the race of Turcomans, called here White Tartars, a people inhabiting the eastern districts of Syria and western Persia. After they had been vanquished in the field, orders were given for a general hunt after this unfortunate race ; and upwards of sixty thousand are said to have been sacrificed, in order to afford materials for this savage erection. In this part of their journey there blew a wind so hot, that it appeared, he says, as if it came up out of hell ; and they were obliged to travel chiefly in the night. In four days they arrived at a city called Vascal, where one of Timur's vassal kings resided, who invited them to his palace, and after a sumptuous entertainment invested each with a robe of state. On their requesting, however, two days' rest to recover from their late severe fatigues, the prince

replied, that to grant this was as much as his head was worth, Timur having ordered that they should be sent forward without the least delay ; and all neglect of his orders was fatal.

From Vascal the embassy travelled for two days through a country rendered uninhabitable by the heat, and arrived at Jagaro, a city situated at the foot of a mountain, whence poured such numerous torrents, that it was sometimes inundated, and partly demolished by them. Here they were supplied with provisions and horses, and had an opportunity of observing the system of posts established by Timur. At the end of every day's journey, stations were fixed, at each of which relays of from one to two hundred horses were kept ; and as this often occurred in an uninhabited place, large caravanseras were there built for their accommodation. At each of these points the couriers employed in the service of the emperor left their horses, and were supplied with fresh ones. Should any of these drop down on the road, or be unable to proceed, they seized the first they met, causing the rider to dismount, whatever might be his rank or place ; and if he raised any controversy on the subject, the debate was cut short by striking off his head. Even the emperor's sons have been known to be dismounted on such occasions. On approaching any town,

they seized the first person they met, and tied him to the foremost horse, or if there was not sufficient convenience for this purpose, obliged him, by the continued application of the whip, to keep pace with their riding, and to conduct them without loss of time to the governor's house. On being introduced to that august personage, their first demand was for whips and staves, which were to be dealt round on all sides till every want was supplied. Accordingly, whenever the approach of such a visitation was announced, the inhabitants ran about like distracted persons, calling out *Elchi, Elchi*, (ambassadors), and continued in this state of preternatural activity, till they had satisfied all the requisitions of these unwelcome visitants.

The embassy, after passing through Zabrain, a city containing many fine mosques and edifices, but now nearly uninhabited, came to Nixaor, (Nishapour). This is described as a large city, the capital of Media, surrounded by fine houses and gardens, and near which were found the finest turquoises in the world. Gomez de Salazar, a member of the mission, was unable to proceed farther, and died here. On leaving Nishapour, they entered the province of Horacania (Khorassan), and came to Ojojan (Jorjan), a large city, where they were met by Xaharac Mirassa, a son of Timur, and governor of the province, who in-

vited them to his residence at Herey, about thirty leagues distant; but this they did not consider themselves at liberty to accept. They then came to Maxaque (Meshed), another great city, rendered sacred by the tomb of a grandson of Mahomet. After another town, Buelo, they had to cross a desert of fifty leagues, at the end of which they found themselves in the world of Tartary, where, instead of cultivated fields, villages, and fixed houses, nothing was seen but tents, cattle, and bands roving from place to place. They now crossed the river Morga (Murghab), and passing through Salugarsujassa, the villages of Ux and Alibed, and the city of Vaeq, came to the great river Viadme (the Oxus), three miles broad, and forming the boundary between the territory of Samarcand and that of Khorassan. This river was passed by means of boats, which, whenever the emperor, or any mission to or from him were to cross, were put together, and a wooden bridge laid over them, which was taken down as soon as the passage had been effected. This was done to prevent it from becoming a thoroughfare, and neither here nor at any other point was any passage permitted, without a written order from the emperor. This precaution was taken in consequence of the mode employed by Timur to increase the population of Samarcand, by drawing people out of all the provinces of Persia. His

officers had a general order to seize all whom they found destitute and defenceless, and bring them to Samarcand by force; in which manner a hundred thousand are said to have been conveyed. As they do not all, however, appear to have felt much at ease in their new quarters, numerous attempts were made to return; for preventing which the above precautions were necessary. After travelling some days they came to a formidable range of mountains, said to separate Samarcand from the Lesser India. These could be crossed only by a narrow pass, overhung by lofty rocks, called the *Iron Gate*, distant, however, 1500 leagues from the pass of the same name at Derbent. After a few days they arrived at a great city called Quex, situated on a beautiful plain, full of waters and gardens. Here they were shewn a palace, one of the grandest works of Timur, on which workmen had laboured for twenty years, and were still labouring. The apartments were almost innumerable, adorned with works in gold, azure, and various colours.

Travelling a few days longer, the embassy arrived at Mecer, a village situated about a league and a half from Samarcand. Here they were desired to stop till notice was given to the emperor of their arrival. In return, they were informed that he was then particularly engaged with the ambassador of Totamix, the emperor of the Tar-

tars, and could not see them for a few days. They were conducted, however, into a fine garden, surrounded by a wall of a league in circuit, and in the midst of which was a handsome palace, where they were lodged. They remained here eight days, during which time their impatience was soothed by the assurance that Timur always made some delay in seeing ambassadors, and that the length of time was in proportion to the respect with which he viewed them. On the eighth September they were invited to wait on the emperor, and proceeded through a plain covered with gardens and country-houses, till they came to a palace situated without the city. On reaching the gate, the presents were placed on men's shoulders, and the Mirassaes or chiefs put their arms within those of the ambassadors, and led them in. The gate was lofty, and finely adorned with gold and azure: in the interior court appeared six elephants, with wooden castles on their heads adorned with pendants, and whom the riders were causing to perform gambols for the amusement of the court. The ambassador whom Timur had sent to the court of Castille, appearing in a Spanish dress, caused a general laugh. They were led into a large apartment where were seated some boys, grandsons of Timur, who immediately rose, received the letter of the king of Spain, and carried it to their grandfather. They presently re-

turned, and the ambassadors were ushered into the presence of this mighty ruler of the Eastern World. They found him seated on cushions of embroidered silk, with his elbows supported on pillows, and a fountain of water playing before him. He was dressed in a robe of plain silk, and wore a high white hat, with a Balass ruby at the top. Whenever the ambassadors saw Timur, they bent their right knee to the ground, and placed their arms in front, in the form of a cross. Advancing a little, they repeated the ceremony a second and third time, on which last occasion, both their knees were left resting on the ground, till the emperor desired them to come forward. Their first guides then quitted them, and three chiefs who were round the emperor's person, came forward, took them by the arms, and led them on till they were all on a line before the monarch. They were then all made again to bend the knee, till Timur desired them again to step forward, apparently with the view of seeing them better, as his eyes were now much decayed, and the eye-lashes had dropt off from old age. The writer does not think fit to give any other particulars of the person and appearance of this great monarch. He received them cordially, and inquired after the health of his cousin the king of Spain. He then turned to those about him, several of whom were Tartar princes, and told them

that the king of Spain was the greatest king among the Franks, bestowing many praises on him and his subjects. Having received the letter, he retired into a neighbouring room to hear it interpreted. Observing, on his return, that the Spanish ambassadors had been placed below those of Catay, he gave orders that this position should be reversed, and took care that on all future occasions they should have the highest place.

The guests being seated, the entertainment was brought in. The meat was in immense leathern bags, which were dragged in with great labour by a number of servants. Others then opened them, cut out large pieces, and placed them upon dishes of gold, silver, and porcelain, the last being reckoned the most valuable. The chief lords of the court then came forward, took up the dishes, and placed them before the emperor and the ambassadors. The most delicious was considered to be the buttock of a horse, including the loin, but without the leg; horse-tripe was also held in much estimation. When they had done with one dish, it was not as usual taken away to make place for another, but the servants of the guests were expected to carry home with them all that was left; and the quantity was such, that had the ambassador's train used this privilege to the full, they would have laid in subsistence for half a year. The drink was mares' milk sweeten-

ed with sugar (probably koumiss), which was handed round in gold and silver cups. The presents were then produced, with which the emperor testified great satisfaction, but handed them to his officers to be kept for three days, it not being the etiquette that he should take them into his possession before that time. The ambassadors were then conducted to a handsome palace, which had been prepared for their reception.

During the two following months the emperor removed to several other palaces, at each of which he gave a new feast to the ambassadors; and every palace, and every feast, was more splendid than the preceding one. The author enters into many details, through which we will not attempt to follow him. The magnificent halls painted with various colours, the hangings of silk, gold, and silver embroidery, the tables of solid gold, the display of rubies and precious stones, form a splendid but little varied scene. The greatest display was at the *real* or *ordo*, when the prince and all his grandees pitched their tents on a vast plain. The number of these tents amounted, on one occasion, to twenty thousand. All the magnificence of the sovereign was displayed in his tent, and in the variety of cloths, colours, and precious materials with which it was adorned. Wine was produced only on rare occasions, and by the emperor's express permission. It was then

supplied very copiously, and servants attended whose only business was to supply full cups in the room of those which were emptied. It was expected, that every one should get drunk ; and if any one was seen less diligent than his neighbours, he was reminded that it was in honour of the emperor, and that he must empty his cups. The proudest achievement was to fill a large goblet, and, saying that it was for love of the emperor, drink it off at a draught. Two entertainments were given by ladies, one the principal wife, and the other the daughter-in-law of the emperor ; at both which wine was supplied in particular abundance. The queens, nine in number, sat in a row, and pages on their knees handed wine in golden cups, which their majesties lost no time in emptying. Drunkenness was held equally honourable here as at the feasts given by the emperor.

Our author applauds much the justice of Timur, and gives several instances, which by no means convince us of the fact. While Clavijo was there, he sent for the governor of Samarcand, and saying that he had abused his trust, without farther specification, delay, or trial, ordered him to be hanged. A courtier venturing to intercede for him, was immediately directed to share his fate. A third then came forward, and offered four hundred pieces of silver for the life of the condemned person. Timur accepted the money,

then caused him to be tortured for more; and when he had extracted all, ordered him to be hung up by the feet till he expired. At another time, the emperor having ordered a large and broad street to be formed in Samarcand for the purpose of a market, warned the workmen that they must complete it in twenty days. They immediately began in furious haste, and with such tumult and outcries, "as if all the demons from hell had been at work." When any house stood in their way, they began at once to demolish it without a moment's warning, the proprietor never suspecting any thing till he found it tumbling about his ears, and was obliged to leap out with his most precious effects. When the work was completed, the sufferers procured a representation to be made to the prince of the heavy loss they had sustained, requesting some small compensation. Timur, however, sternly replied, that all Samarcand was his, and that they had no title to complain. To the surprise of all, he did not hang the applicants, who were only obliged to express their high sense of the excellence and justice of his conduct in this refusal.

During Clavijo's residence, ambassadors came from a country said to border on Catay, and to have been once subject to it; which country proves to be Russia. The vicinity could not be said then to exist, though both were once subject

to the empire of Zingis. They were wrapt in skins with the hair outwards, and wore hats so small, that they could with difficulty be forced on their heads. Their whole appearance suggested the idea of smiths newly come out of their workshop. They brought presents of the skins of martens, zibelines, and white hares; also some hawks. Clavijo saw also the king of Balaxia (Badakshan), and received from him an account of the manner in which the Balass rubies were chiselled out from the mountain in the neighbourhood of his capital. Timur kept it always strongly guarded, that no one might remove any unless for his behoof.

Samarcand is described as a city situated on a plain, and, within the walls, somewhat larger than Seville; but the country, for two leagues round, was so covered with large villages, gardens, and country-houses, the residence of Tartar chiefs, that the population without was supposed to be greater. To a stranger approaching, the gardens appeared to form a vast forest, enclosing the city on every side. The whole population was reckoned at 150,000, many of whom, for want of habitations, were obliged to take up their residence in caves. The inhabitants were of the most varied description, as Timur had made it his object to collect people from all his conquests, and to bring from every place persons exercising the art for which that

place was famous ; so that there was scarcely in Asia a nation which had not representatives, nor a trade which was not exercised, at Samarcand. Its commerce was most extensive, with Russia, Tartary, Catay, India, and Turkey ; but the most valuable commodities were those which came from Catay. The Catayans were one of the most subtle people in the world ; they maintained that they alone had two eyes, the Franks only one, and the Moors none.

After several months spent in this joyous manner at Samarcand, the emperor at last appointed a day on which he was to give the ambassadors their answer, and to dismiss them. On their waiting upon him for that purpose, they were informed that he was ill, and could not see them. Next visit they were dismissed in the same manner ; and when they went a third time, one of the Mirassaes informed them that it was now time to take their departure, and that every arrangement had been made for supplying them with provisions, and securing their safety during the journey. Clavijo said, that the emperor having intimated his intention of giving them an audience, they could not with propriety quit Samarcand till he had taken his formal leave. The Mirassa then owned what he seems to have been anxious to conceal, that Timur was not only ill, but at the point of death, and could see no one. The

punctilious Spaniard, however, still insisted on the impropriety of his departing without an answer from the emperor ; but the Mirassa told him that this was totally out of the question, and that he must positively set out ; which was at last urged in such a manner as to admit of no contradiction. On the 21st November, therefore, they departed, and travelled homewards by nearly the same route that they had come. On reaching Tauris they received the intelligence of Timur's death, and that all his sons and grandsons were attacking and killing each other, with a view to the possession of the vacant empire. They experienced the effects of this turbulent state of things in a most unwelcome visit from the governor of the city, who took away not only their arms, but all their property, except the clothes they had on them, and kept them in close confinement for several months. At the end of that time Homar Mirassa, the grandson of Timur, who had obtained the government of this part of Persia, arrived at Tauris. He caused the ambassadors to be liberated, their property restored, and themselves dismissed with safe conduct ; after which they had no difficulty in reaching their native country.

About this time, a great part of Asia was accidentally traversed by a German of the name of

SCHILDTBERGER. He was taken prisoner in Hungary by the Turkish army under Bajazet, and carried into Asia, where the Ottoman monarch being vanquished and made captive by Timur, Schildtberger shared the same fate. He was carried about for many years with Timur and his son Schah Rokh; but in the short analysis of his narrative which alone I have been able to procure, no mention is made of his observations during this period. The most interesting part is the account of an expedition which he made with a Tartar prince, named Zegra, for the conquest of a country called Ibisibur, or Issibur (Siberia?). In this country there is said to be a range of mountains thirty-two days' journey in length, and terminated by a desert, which is the end of the earth. It is peopled by a race of savages, whose whole body except the face and hands is covered with hair, and who have large dogs trained to draw carts and sledges. These mountains would seem to be the chain of the Al-lay, while the desert beyond, and its inhabitants, suggest the Kamtschadales and Kuriles, placed at the remotest extremity of Asia.

Having conquered Issibur, the Tartars marched to Wolar (Bulgaria), which they also subdued. They afterwards marched northwards into Magrill (Mingrelia), and here Schildtberger finding himself at the distance of a few days' journey from the coast of the Black Sea, contrived to find his way

thither. After waiting four days, he saw an European vessel at some miles distance, and attracted its attention by signals. After thirty years of captivity, he retained little of a German aspect, and was required to prove his pretensions by repeating the Lord's prayer, Ave Maria, and the Creed. Having satisfactorily made out these credentials, he was taken on board, and conveyed to Constantinople, whence he easily contrived to reach his native country.

The next journey to be noticed through the heart of Asia, is one performed exclusively by Asiatics. These consisted of an embassy sent to the court of China by Mirza Schah Rokh, the fourth son of Timur, and who had succeeded to the dominions held by that conqueror in Khorasan. The principal ambassador was called Shadi Khojah, and he had in his train Kuaja Ghiafeddin, a person who, being eminent both as a writer and a painter, was instructed to keep a journal of all that occurred on the route.

In the year 822 of the Hejirah, (A. D. 1419,) the embassy set out from Herat, the capital of Schah Rokh's dominions. They went first to Balkh, and thence to Samarcand, where they waited till they were joined by another embassy sent by the king of Badakshan. Their route after this is somewhat difficult to trace, but it appears that

they were entangled among those chains of lofty mountains, which separate independent Tartary from the territory of Cashgar. Here they travelled through a tract almost destitute of inhabitants, and where the cold was so intense, that though under the summer solstice, the water was often frozen to the depth of two inches. They were alarmed also by hearing that the ambassadors of a neighbouring prince had been attacked and plundered by the robbers who infested these tracts. They were thus impelled to push forward, through storms of rain and snow, till they arrived at Turfan. They found this a large city, containing many spacious temples, dedicated to the Shaman idolatry. They were particularly struck by a huge image placed on carpets, called Sacyo Muni, which is remarkable as being one of the Sanscrit appellations of Buddha. Hence, in two days, they came to Kharadziah, or Karah Khuaja, where Chinese secretaries met them, and took down a list of their names. In about twenty days they reached Khamil or Hami. Here they were edified by the view of a handsome mosque; but the idolatrous temples were also very splendid, and in front of one were two gigantic statues. They had now to travel twenty-five days across the great desert of Shamo. Contrary to report they here saw lions, and also large flocks of a species of ox (the yaik), distinguished by its long tail and by

the strength of its horns. They then passed Chatcheou, a small town, and were soon after met by a party of Katayans (Chinese), sent by the emperor. These officers began by demanding an exact list of themselves and all their attendants, warning them that their treatment would materially depend on their giving a fair and candid statement. They then erected tents, which they adorned with green boughs, and produced an elegant repast of fowl, pork, and kid, with fruits served in china dishes, and accompanied with various liquors, among which was tea. They entertained them also with comic exhibitions, the actors appearing in masks, formed into the shape of animals, whose motions they imitated. One performer, who enacted a stork, met with much admiration.

Some time after, the embassy passed Karaul, a pass in the mountains, secured by a double gate, and forming probably part of the great wall, though this is not mentioned. In ten days from Chatcheou, they came to Sacchu (Sociou, the Succur of Marco Polo). This is a large city, with broad streets crossing each other at right angles. From it to Khanbalig (Pekin), are ninety-nine stages, with a tower at each, and another between each stage, so that one tower may always be seen from the next, and a continuous chain of signals kept up. At every stage they were invit-

ed to the town-hall, and entertained with a splendid dinner. The next town was Kamchu (Kantcheou, the Champion of Marco Polo). It is still larger than Sacchu, and particularly distinguished for the magnificence of its temples. One of them was a thousand feet square, and contained a colossal idol in a reposing form, the feet of which were eighteen feet long, and the rest of the body in proportion. There was also an edifice which the Khorassans called the vault of heaven. It was a pagoda of fifteen stages, the walls brilliantly painted, and resting upon a number of huge statues of deities, which appeared to groan beneath the weight. After travelling some weeks they arrived at the river Kara Moran, which they crossed on a bridge of twenty-three boats, and found a most splendid city, adorned with many sumptuous edifices. They were particularly struck with the beauty of the damsels, who, contrary to the general tone of Chinese manners, stationed themselves at the doors of the taverns; whence our envoys called the place Hassanabad, or the city of beauty. After crossing several other rivers they arrived at Sedinfur, a city, the magnitude of which appeared to them truly immense. They saw here a most gigantic statue, close to which was a temple, the first story of which reached to the angle of the image, the second to the knee, and so on to the top, which was on a level

with the crown of the head. It had hands innumerable, with an eye in each ; about a hundred thousand weight of brass had been employed in its formation.

In December 1420 the ambassadors arrived at Khambalig, which surpassed in grandeur all the cities yet visited. Immediately on entering the gates, they were conducted to the palace. Though it was scarcely day, they found the outer court filled with a multitude which appeared not less than a hundred thousand. At sun-rise the drum was beat, and the great bell tolled ; then three doors were thrown open, and they were ushered into a square more superb than the first, and terminated by a palace of incredible grandeur. On the outside was a lofty throne, with a canopy above, supported by pillars a hundred feet high. The grandees were seated on the steps of the throne ; a large body of troops, and two thousand musicians were in attendance ; but the deepest silence reigned till the prince came out, and seated himself on the throne. A number of criminals were then brought up, who had been sent to the capital from different parts of the empire. They were held by the hair, and had each a board affixed to their necks, specifying their crime, and its legal punishment. The emperor having inspected the board, pronounced sentence, and they were carried off. The Khorassans were then

brought forward, and a courtier read an account of the journey they had made, in order "to bend the head of desire to the dust of obedience." They were directed to bow the head three times, touching the ground with their foreheads, which they state themselves to have ostensibly done, but at the same time to have avoided the actual contact. The emperor received them courteously, and made many inquiries respecting Schah Rokh, and the political state of western Asia, on which he shewed himself to be well informed. They were then invited to go and take some refreshments that were prepared in an adjoining apartment. Some days after, it was announced that the emperor was to give them a state dinner. This entertainment was served in a large hall with the greatest pomp, and consisted of upwards of a thousand dishes. The monarch was present in a recess, shaded by seven umbrellas; and the ambassadors were again introduced to him, and made now to touch the ground five times with their foreheads.

The emperor being about to set out on a hunting expedition, the Khorassans were riding up to pay their respects to him on his departure, when they were met by a Chinese nobleman with whom they were in friendly terms. He informed them with a rueful countenance, that the monarch having mounted a horse presented by them, had been

thrown and somewhat hurt ; which so enraged him, that he had doomed them all to perpetual imprisonment in a remote city of the empire. It is needless to say, that they remained for some time in the deepest dismay and alarm. Happily the emperor, as his passion cooled, listened to a friendly intercession, and agreed to pardon their involuntary crime. On seeing Shadi Khoja, however, he could not forbear taunting him on the subject of the horse, which he alleged was not such as one sovereign ought to present to another. The ambassador assured him that it was a favourite horse of Timur, and one held by his master in peculiar estimation ; whereupon the monarch declared himself quite satisfied. Soon after the ambassadors were sent for to court, and found the emperor on his throne, having beside him a great number of covered dishes. These were set before them, and on lifting the covers, they found orders for presents, chiefly of rich stuffs.

Circumstances now occurred which threw a gloom over the court. A favourite wife of the emperor suddenly died ; and lightning having struck the palace, consumed the hall of audience, and a range of contiguous apartments. These misfortunes so affected the emperor, that he fell sick, and continued ill at their departure ; in consequence of which the audience of leave was given by his son. In their return through China,

they were supplied as before with every necessary. At Socieu, some articles which had been taken from them on their entrance, were faithfully restored. A war having broken out in the intervening regions, they appear to have been obliged to take a more circuitous route, and to traverse a greater extent of desert, where they suffered considerably from the want of water. They passed now through Khoten and Cashgar, of which, however, no description is given, and proceeded thence by way of Andegan to Herat.

CHAPTER VI.

VOYAGES ALONG THE SOUTHERN COASTS OF ASIA.

Mendez Pinto.—Sharpey.—Middleton.—Grantham.

Antonio Albuquerque.

SINCE the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, the navigation of Europeans in the Indian Seas has been so extensive, as to accumulate materials for this chapter which our limits preclude any general attempt to analyze. Those voyages, therefore, are selected, which, from the variety of the coasts through which they were performed, and the diversified nature of their adventures, seem best calculated to give a general idea of the southern shores of Asia. A few are also included which may interest the general reader, as they are not likely to have come under his view in any other shape.

Among the early European adventurers, none have rendered themselves so famous by the narrative of their varied exploits, as FERDINAND MENDEZ PINTO. He has indeed, beyond any

other, been suspected of using the common privilege of such narrators ; a charge which our great dramatist has rendered proverbial in the ear of the English reader.* Like several of his brethren, however, he has regained in the present age much of his lost reputation ; and some of those statements which appeared most startling to our inexperienced forefathers, have been confirmed by recent and credible witnesses. Many of the deeds in fact which are recounted, reflect such exceeding small credit on the actors, that it is astonishing how they should be related, and quite incredible that they should be invented, by any one concerning himself.

The author states, that he was born of poor parents at Montemorvelho in Portugal, whence he was carried by a friend to Lisbon, and placed in the service of a lady of rank. Here an *accident*, on the nature of which he thinks fit to throw a veil, placed him in such imminent danger of life, that he could escape only by the speedy removal of his person to another quarter of the kingdom. This being effected in safety, he was introduced into the house of a gentleman of distinction ; but after five years' trial, found, he says, the allowance then made in noble houses insuffi-

* " Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou
" liar of the first magnitude."—SHAKESPEARE.

cient for his due maintenance. Thereupon he determined to embark for India, and expose himself to any fortune, good or bad, which might there befall him.

On arriving at Diu, Pinto found a captain of his acquaintance just setting sail on a mission to the Red Sea, whom, being flattered with the hope of becoming rich at once, he was induced "for his sins" to accompany. They first landed at Massua, and proceeded to the Abyssinian court. The alliance of Portugal being then desired against the Turks, procured them an excellent reception. The son of the Barnegais (Baharne-gash) himself escorted them with a body of horse to the residence of the queen mother. That princess held out to them the staff in her hand to kiss; assured them that their arrival was grateful to her as the nightly dew to the fresh garden, and as the arrival of Queen Helena had been to the Holy Land. They were magnificently lodged, and presented with a sum of money amounting to 240 ducats. Setting sail then from the port of Arkeeko, they saw at a distance three Turkish vessels, which they imagined would be a glorious prize. By incredible efforts of rowing, they succeeded in coming up, when these proved to be gallies well armed; whereupon the Portuguese turned, and sought to make off much more eagerly than they had sought to advance, but

with less success. The Turks hoisting all their sails, soon reached, and after an obstinate combat, captured them. The killed were cut into quarters and hung at the main-yard, in token of victory. Pinto and the other survivors were carried into Mocha, and paraded through the streets. An unbounded zeal then arose to maltreat them to the utmost possible extent, the Caci assuring the people that by so doing they would obtain plenary indulgence for all their sins. Even the women and children, though confined in the house, came to the windows, collected and threw over upon them all the refuse and filth which the houses afforded. At night they were thrown into a *masmorra*, or dungeon, and kept there for fifteen days, without any food except a little barley meal soaked in water. Pinto was then sold for a slave, but being transferred to various masters, chance brought him to Ormus, where he was redeemed by the Portuguese government. He then embarked for India on board an armament commanded by Gonzalo Vaz Coutinho. Meeting with a Turkish galley, they attacked it, contrary to the advice of their ally the queen of Onor, who assured them they would find her too hard for them. They were accordingly beat off with dreadful loss, and a great number killed, among whom was a son of the governor himself. They were then so unreasonable as to upbraid the

queen as having aided in this dreadful catastrophe, though she solemnly protested that her dismay could not have been deeper, had she been compelled to eat a piece of cows' flesh, than it was at the disaster which had befallen the Portuguese. They were obliged therefore to make the best of their way to Goa, where Pinto hired himself as a soldier to Pedro de Faria, who was going as governor to Malacca. There his conduct seems to have been much approved, and he was employed in embassies and transactions with several of the princes, both on the continent and the neighbouring shore of Sumatra. At length he fell in with one Antonio de Faria, who had fitted out a great commercial concern to be sent up the Gulf of Siam, and who induced Pinto to embark in the expedition. They put on board a large cargo purchased chiefly on credit, in sanguine hopes, from reports which had reached them, of gaining six hundred per cent, and thus at once becoming rich men. The issue presented a sad reverse. Entering the river of Lugor, an Arab junk attacked them; lances, darts and stones, began to rain like hail, till not one of the crew remained unwounded. They then ceased all resistance, when the Moors rushed on board, and began killing outright all who remained alive. Hereupon Pinto, with three others, leapt into the sea; and though one was

drowned, the rest reached the shore. They found themselves in the heart of a morass, wounded, stript of every thing, and in danger of perishing with hunger. They spent six days in a place so environed by marshes, that they were unable to extricate themselves. On the seventh, seeing a large bark passing up the river, they fell on their knees, and lifting up their hands, began, with the most doleful cries, to implore help. The sailors were passing on; but an old lady came up from below, and commiserating the sad spectacle, insisted on the sufferers being taken on board. On hearing their story, she assured them that their wrongs and miseries, great as they were, did not equal her's; of which she gave, indeed, a most doleful catalogue,—that her husband and her three sons had been trampled to death by the elephants of the king of Siam; that her three grown-up daughters had been thrown into burning furnaces, and that thirty-two of her relations had shared the same fate; that life was a burden, only alleviated by the opportunities of succouring the unhappy. She informed them, that they had fallen into the hands of Coja Acem, who had seen his father and two brothers fall by the hands of Pinto's countrymen, and whom she had often heard vowing deadly vengeance on all that bore the name of Portuguese. This charitable lady refitted our travellers to the utmost of her power,

and put them in a condition to set out for Patana, where Faria was impatiently expecting the result of his adventure. On receiving the news, he remained for half an hour without motion or speech. Beginning then to reflect, he saw the impossibility of returning to Malacca, where he had bonds to the extent of twelve thousand cruzados ready to be executed against him. Musing upon these circumstances, he started up and swore upon the holy Evangelists, that he would instantly set out in search of the robbers, and never return till he had obtained vengeance. Pinto then recollecting that he himself owed five hundred ducats, to pay which he had not a *vintem*, was instantly seized with similar ardour, and devoted himself to the same cause. They found no difficulty in collecting a band of volunteers, and even in equipping and arming a little bark, with which they forthwith set sail. The rule upon which they proceeded was, to attack every junk they met, and thought themselves able to take, on the principle, that it might possibly be that of Coja Acem; but when it proved otherwise, it was not thought necessary to make any distinction in the mode of treatment. In this manner, sailing along the coasts of Cambodia, Cochinchina, and Chiampa, they, at the expense of a little blood, acquired considerable wealth. At the towns where they touched, however,

some persons began remarking to Faria what spruce young fellows he had got, and how rich a country his must be, where the most valuable Chinese silks were used for the dress of the common sailors. Although this was said in the most polite manner, it was in a tone which betrayed to Faria their shrewd suspicion how he had come by all this finery. He directed his men therefore to resume their old habiliments, and keep in the back ground their new acquisitions. Having now acquired three junks and a smaller vessel, they anchored in a bay, where they saw approaching four *lanteas*, whence issued so loud a concert of musical instruments, that they were unable even to hear each other. The *lanteas* remained for about two hours at a little distance, as if watching our party, when one of them approached, on the arrival of which the Portuguese learned, that this was the escort of a bride of distinction, daughter of the governor of the neighbouring town, who was coming to meet her destined husband, and had supposed that their armament was his. The bride had been much surprised and dismayed at his not having come immediately on board; she wrote therefore a long letter, professing her tender love and longing desire to see him; adding, in the style of oriental conceit, that she no longer knew where she was, being unable to see any thing without him who was her only light. She

concluded by warning him to beware, lest, if he delayed till to-morrow's dawn, he should no longer find her among the living. As soon as the lantea was seen approaching, Faria had caused all the Portuguese sailors to go beneath, and only the Chinese to remain on deck. At their invitation, the bride's uncle with two others came on board, when they were instantly seized and put under hatches. The Portuguese then threw a rope round the mast of the lantea, to prevent its escape; and immediately boarded and took it. They then pushed forward to the other three lanteas, and entered without resistance that in which the bride was, the other two escaping. Most of the ladies on board being stricken in years, were judged not worth retaining, and therefore put on shore. The captors kept only the bride, her two brothers, and twenty mariners, who were of use to them in navigating the junks. They then put to sea, and soon met five *lanteas*, whence the sound of music and rejoicing issuing, and floating along the waves, announced that it was the bridegroom coming in triumph to meet his bride. As he passed along, the Portuguese gave him a salutation, which he gaily returned, little suspecting that they were bearing for ever away from him the object of his affection. It was not long, however, before the justice of heaven overtook these deeds. Sailing near the islands

de los Ladrones, they were overtaken by a violent tempest, which dashed all the four junks to pieces ; while of upwards of five hundred men which composed the crew, not more than fifty escaped. They found themselves on a marshy desolate shore, stripped of all their wealth, destitute of every thing, and on the point of perishing. In this extremity, they sought a consolation which we might well have supposed to have been far from them. Under any rational system of religion, such a course of life as they had been pursuing, would have been felt as incompatible with any thing like a religious character ; but to a Portuguese of the sixteenth century, there did not appear the smallest inconsistency. Faria called together his men, and reminded them, that, according to all the soundest doctors, God never permitted any evil, unless to bring about a greater good. Since therefore he had caused them to lose the five hundred thousand cruzados which they had already stolen, it was contrary to every idea of his attributes, that he should not soon enable them to steal at least six hundred thousand. The crew, in their miserable condition, did not feel the full force of this argument ; however, says our worthy author, “ the Lord soon shewed that he never “ deserts those who trust in him.” A sail appeared in the distance, whereupon the Portuguese, by Faria’s direction, hiding themselves in a wood,

saw a lanthea approach, out of which came about thirty Chinese, who having fastened the vessel, left it, and began to run confusedly about, cutting wood, washing their linen, wrestling and amusing themselves in various pastimes. Faria then called together his men, and assured them that the infinite mercy of God had miraculously sent this lanthea to relieve their distress. He proposed, therefore, that as soon as they should hear him give the cry, *Jesus, Jesus, Jesus*, they should rush forward and seize the lanthea. A general assent being given to this proposition, he watched the favourable moment, and gave the appointed signal; whereupon these pious persons sprung out of their ambuscade, cut the ropes, and throwing themselves into the lanthea, pushed it out to sea. The unhappy Chinese rushed to the shore with cries of despair; but a fire was immediately opened which obliged them to retreat into the wood. The Portuguese found on board only a little boy, who told them, with floods of tears, that the lanthea belonged to his father, and contained all the wealth he had acquired by thirty years of unremitting industry; that being on his way to a port in Camboia, ill fate had led him to touch at this island for water, where he had been deprived of his all. Faria charitably promising to be a father to him, the boy indignantly rejected the offer, saying, that

he would rather die with his mourning father than live with such wretches as they. He then asked what deity they worshipped, or if there was any power to whom this system of preaching and stealing alternately would render them acceptable? He finally warned them of the awful punishment which in a future world must await such an union of guilt and profanity. It is but justice to our author to say, that he reports all the representations made to them on those topics at full length, and seemingly with great approbation. On the present occasion, Faria, far from taking offence, was exceedingly edified by the boy's discourse, and conceived from it that he would make an excellent Christian. The proposal being made, the boy asked them to explain what it was they were speaking of, upon which Faria began and gave an outline of the leading articles of the Christian faith. The boy lifted up his hands, and said, "O God! wondrous is thy patience, who
"sufferest such men to live on earth, that speak
"so well of thee and act so ill." He then began anew to weep without intermission, and continued to do so for three days, without tasting a morsel. The Portuguese being thus masters of a vessel, sailed for Liampoo, and anchored in a river where some other ships were also lying. It there occurred to them, that they might advantageously secure an accession to their force. At midnight they

brought themselves close to a junk, and leaping on board, seized the sleeping Chinese, warning them, that if they emitted the least sound, they would be instantly put to death. They then quietly possessed themselves of the ship, and sailed off.

Some time after, Faria fell in with a native pirate called Quiay Panian, who informed him that he had suffered similar vicissitudes of fortune with himself; that he could not now return to his wife and children, since the king of the country would undoubtedly confiscate all his effects, as he had done to many for much smaller offences; that he was therefore willing to join company, on condition of receiving a third of the gains. Faria swore on the holy evangelists to observe this agreement. Soon after a memorable event took place. They met at sea with a boat in which were eight wounded Portuguese, who told them that their armament had been attacked by a pirate, who had taken every thing, they only escaping in this little boat. They added, that this pirate was Coja Acem. At the name Faria started, and eagerly inquiring where his enemy was to be found, learned that he was at the mouth of a neighbouring river, and must be much shattered by the recent engagement. Faria then fell on his knees, and invoked the divine aid in this, which doubtless was comparatively a legitimate enter-

prise. All sails were immediately hoisted, and after two days' sail they came at nightfall to a spot where a boat informed them, that Coja Acem's armament was only two leagues distant. They waited till near day-break, when they drew very near unperceived, and hoped to surprise the enemy; but his pursuits placing him always on the watch, an alarum-bell was rung, and a dreadful outcry arose. It is easy to conceive the furious encounter of two chiefs, between whom there reigned such a just and terrible enmity. Pinto professes, that though present, he can scarcely give a distinct account of it, so dreadful was the sound of drums, bells, guns, shouts, and cries, echoed by the surrounding rocks, and "his own flesh quaking for fear." Faria encouraged his men, continually calling out "Jesus! Jesus!" while Coja Acem was heard exclaiming, "*Lach, hilach, hilach, lach*, Mussulmen, "just men of the holy law of Mahomet, remember the promise made by the prophet in the "book of Flowers, that we shall swim in delight "through the halls of Mecca, provided we bathe "ourselves in the blood of the lawless infidels." The battle raged for a long time with inexpressible fury. At length Coja Acem rushing forward to encourage his men, Faria sprung upon him, and with a blow of his two-edged sword cleft his cap of mail, and laid him at his feet; then with a

second stroke severed his limbs from his body. Thus fell this terrible chief, who gloried in the title of "Drinker of the blood of the Portuguese." His men made a furious stand for vengeance, but were at length overpowered, driven out of the ship, hunted into the neighbouring villages, and almost all cut to pieces. Faria then made a point of honour to restore to his Portuguese informants the junk which the enemy had taken from them; a deed which appeared to himself so admirable, that he expresses full confidence of thereby expiating all his sins, and securing salvation. He then caused the dead bodies to be thrown into the sea, and the rest of the booty to be divided among his followers.

After a few farther adventures, Faria received information of an object, which promised to content the most ardent longings of his avarice. He was told of an island called Calemplui, on the coast of China, wherein were the tombs of sixteen Chinese kings in golden coffins, with other immense treasures and wonders, such as Pinto scarcely dares to recount; but they were assured that they could be seized without any trouble or difficulty, except that of sailing to the place. Faria, "being naturally curious," resolved to set out without a moment's delay in search of this wonderful island. After sailing for two or three months along the coast of China, and

through the Gulf of Nanquin, he arrived in sight of it. It was about three hours after sunset ; but a bright moonlight enabled them to discover an edifice, the view of which struck them with the deepest astonishment. Neither in the Indies, or in any other part of the world, had they seen any thing which could bear any comparison to it. It was an island at the mouth of a river, about a league in circuit, completely environed with a wall of jasper, the materials of which were so nicely joined, that it appeared all one stone. It was adorned along the top with balustrades of brass, having each a female figure over them, and behind, a row of monsters, holding each other by the hand, and going all round the wall. Within was a grove of orange trees, enclosing three hundred and sixty hermitages dedicated to the days of the year. On the shore opposite, appeared a crowd of magnificent edifices, the pinnacles of which were all gilded, so that it appeared a city of gold. This spectacle excited at once in Faria the utmost degree of desire and fear, for it appeared scarcely possible that such treasures should not be carefully guarded. He landed, however, with sixty of his men, and making them call on the name of Jesus, proceeded to the door of one of the hermitages. They knocked, upon which a mild voice answered from within, that by going round, they would find an entrance. They enter-

ed, and found a man sitting, who seemed a hundred years old, in a long robe, and with a majestic appearance. Faria began with saying, that they were poor shipwrecked mariners, reduced to the most extreme poverty, and entreated that he would bestow on them some little alms. The hermit replied only by the bitterest reproaches, which appear somewhat unaccountable, till the context proves, that the speech of Faria had been accompanied with an action suited, or rather unsuited to the word: as the Portuguese, having rushed upon the coffins which were ranged round the room, had begun emptying their contents on the floor, for the sake of collecting the silver mixed with the bones. At this spectacle the hermit fell into the most dreadful agonies, and several times swooned away. He said, that this silver was the fruit of the alms which the dead had collected during life, and was destined to supply their wants in the heaven of the moon, where they now resided eternally. Faria assured the hermit, that he entered on this affair with reluctance, and only from the dread that his comrades would kill him in case of refusal; at the same time making signs to them to proceed. He then began one of his long and pious discourses, of which the hermit expressed much approbation, but warned him that this his knowledge would be fatal to him, and would sink him into the lowest depth of hell,

since, knowing so well his duty, he abandoned himself to such infamous actions. He then entreated him to consider, what account he could give to God at the last day for the life he was now leading. All these denunciations Faria, as usual, took in good part. He seems even to have been struck with unusual awe, excited probably by the profane aspect of this deed. He assured the hermit that he would atone for it in due time, by penance and restitution. After the bones had been thoroughly ransacked, he caused them to be collected and put back into the coffins ; which afforded the hermit some consolation. Faria even declined the obviously prudent advice of his followers, to carry off this personage along with them, alleging, that his infirmities would render him unable to move and give the alarm. He soon found his error ; for he had scarcely reached the ship, when the highest pinnacle of the island was seen illumined by a blaze of fire, and then a tremendous roar of bells was heard from every part of it. The Chinese on board cried out that these were the signals of alarm, and that unless he wished to sacrifice all their lives, he must instantly fly. Faria, almost frantic at this disaster, and his own share in producing it, leapt on shore with a few of his followers, rushed into one of the hermitages, and found two men, who fully confirmed all his apprehensions. They assured him that the

alarm had been given, and that it would be a miracle if he now escaped, since the very air and water would aid in pursuing him. In deep dismay they pushed out to sea, and sought the most unfrequented parts of the coast. The crisis of Faria's fate was now come. A violent tempest arising, drove them upon an unknown shore among rocks, when the storm always increasing, they soon gave themselves up for lost. At midnight, amid the roaring of the waves, a loud cry was heard from Faria's vessel, "Lord have mercy on us!" and it was never heard of more. That in which Pinto was, struck, and of twenty-five Portuguese, fourteen reached the land, before it was dashed to pieces. They found themselves then in the same lost and destitute condition which they had twice before experienced. They did not experience any such speedy deliverance. After begging their bread for some time, they were taken up, and being made slaves, were thus carried successively to Nanquin and Pekin. Pinto gives a description of the magnificence of these great capitals, which were then almost wholly unknown to Europe. Nanquin, he was told, was eight leagues in circuit, and contained eight hundred thousand inhabitants, sixty-two large squares, and eight thousand streets; among which six hundred, that were particularly handsome, were adorned from one end to the other with ba-

lustrades of copper. These streets were also enclosed, and shut in every night with arched gates. The ordinary houses were built of wood, only one or two stories high ; but those of the mandarins were of earth, six or seven stories high, and adorned at the top with gilded towers. There were also two thousand three hundred pagodas, a thousand of which were monasteries ; and the bells of all these, when rung together, produced a sound that was terrible to hear. He was not admitted into any of the royal palaces.

However much our captive was struck with the view of Nanquin, that of Peking seems to have astonished him still more ; and he asserts, that none of the cities which appeared most splendid in the western part of the world, could be named in competition with it. He says, it is ten leagues long, five broad, and thirty in circuit, surrounded with a double wall, strengthened by timber-work and bastions. There are three hundred and sixty gates, corresponding to the several days in the year. Without the walls are also extensive suburbs. The principal streets are very long and broad, enclosed at both ends with gates of iron and brass, over each of which a captain is appointed. He was told that Peking contained a hundred and twenty canals, which were crossed by eighteen hundred bridges. He mentions also a large street consisting wholly of inns, and ano-

ther appropriated entirely to courtezans, who were under the immediate protection of the court. The number of pagodas was three thousand three hundred, and the palaces of the grandees were still more numerous and splendid than in Nankin.

The objects, however splendid, which our traveller observed in the cities, could scarcely be compared with those which presented themselves when he sailed along the great rivers and canals. The multitude of cities and towns, with castles and gilded steeples, the abundance of fruits and provisions, was quite unexampled. They saw often three, five, seven hundred, and even to a thousand boats in a cluster, and forming as it were little towns. There appeared also a number of vessels called *panouras*, the whole interior of which was composed of cages, filled with ducks and geese. When the owners found a spot of land suited to the purpose, they opened the cases and beat a drum, upon which these winged inhabitants issued out in immense flocks, and darkened the air. When they were thought to have fed sufficiently, the drum beat again, and the whole instantly returned, after which the owners went on shore to collect the eggs. When the great fairs were held on the rivers, there was such a concourse of barks as to form, as it were, a great moving city. Sometimes the number of vessels exceeded twenty

thousand, arranged into streets, and all the regulations of police enforced, in the same manner as in an ordinary city. Our author was particularly scandalized to see the humble objects to which avarice descended for the sake of gain, there being merchants of great credit and property, whose sole trade consisted in the buying and selling of human excrement. Upon the whole, his details are such as leave, we think, no doubt of his really having seen this great empire.

After being detained for a long time in this captivity, a great revolution took place, by the invasion and conquest of China by an army of Tartars. The city of Quansi, where the Portuguese happened to be, being subdued by the invaders, the curiosity of the prince was attracted by the foreign appearance and information of Pinto and his companions. They succeeded in insinuating themselves so far into his favour, that he attached them to an embassy which he was sending to the court of Cochin-china, with directions, that they should be there provided with a vessel to convey them to Malacca. At a port where they touched, however, the Portuguese broke into a violent quarrel among themselves, and behaved in so unseemly a manner, that the chief of the embassy declared he could have no more dealings with such ruffians, and left them to shift for themselves. In this extremity, they

hired themselves as sailors on board a vessel going to Japan, and were landed at Bungo. There Pinto recommended himself by his medical skill in curing the daughter of the king or governor ; for which he received ample presents, and was provided with a ship to convey him to his wished-for destination. Never was such a series of wreck as that in which our author was involved. A storm arising near the " island of fire," (Sulphur Island), the vessels were dashed to pieces, and the mariners were thrown upon the great Lequio (Loochoo) island, in a condition so miserable, that several expired before they could reach the nearest village. The first natives they met assured them that they had nothing to apprehend, as the king of Loochoo feared God and was kind to the poor ; but these assurances being made by " cruel Gentiles, without law or knowledge of God," gave the Portuguese little comfort. No sooner, however, had they reached the village, than the inhabitants flocked round, and shewed the tenderest sympathy. The women not only brought an immediate supply of rice, fish, and fruits, but employed six of their number to go through the streets, inviting all the charitably disposed to make a contribution for succouring these unhappy strangers. The contribution was ample ; and all their wants were soon fully supplied. In a few days, orders ar-

rived to bring them to the town of Bungor, eight miles distant, for the purpose of being examined by the Broquen or governor. On their arrival, they were conducted to the court of justice, and prostrating themselves before the Broquen, implored his mercy in one of those pious speeches which they had ever at command. The Broquen said, that their words were good, and that he pitied them from his heart. He then protested, that he would rather exchange his brilliant situation for their wretched one, than fulfil the painful duty which was now imposed upon him. Immediately after he mounted the tribunal, and assuming an air of severity, began to inquire who they were, and how they came thither. They answered, that they were Portuguese merchants, and gave an account of their shipwreck. The Broquen then demanded the origin of their immense wealth, the wrecks of which, scattered on the shore, had excited the astonishment of the whole island. He appealed to them, whether they could possibly have acquired so much without robbery, and whether they had not acted “rather as servants to the serpent of the house
“of smoke, than of the house of the sun, where
“the just bathe themselves amid sweetest odours
“in the holy lake.” Pinto assured him, that so far from being guilty of the crimes insinuated, they professed a religion which absolutely inter-

dicted murder and robbery. The Broquen said, that this was indeed an excellent religion; but why then had the Portuguese, when avarice impelled them to attack Malacca, massacred so many natives of Loochoo, whose widows, still alive, bore testimony to that catastrophe. Pinto replied, that this happened by the fortune of war: but the Broquen warned him, that no such distinction was known in Loochoo; that robbery was considered as robbery, and murder as murder, under whatever names they might be designated. In this unsatisfactory manner the examination ended. Before taking any steps, however, the governor employed a person to wait on them as a friend, and endeavour to ascertain their real character; but the Portuguese having got notice of the stratagem, conducted the interview in such a manner as tended to dispel his suspicions. While matters, however, were taking this favourable turn, "their sins ordained" that a Chinese merchant should arrive at the island, who, the moment he beheld our adventurers, hastened to the king, and expressed his astonishment that he should permit such persons to exist within his dominions. He assured him that they were the greatest ruffians on the face of the earth; that they made robbery and piracy their sole occupation, and had their hands continually dyed in the blood of all who attempted to defend

their property : in short, that there was not a sea, river, or bay in this part of the world, which they had not made the theatre of crimes, which it would be a sin against God even to recount. He confirmed this statement by the most solemn oaths, and was well entitled to speak, since only last year they had burned three junks, and killed two hundred men belonging to him. These *lies*, as our author is pleased to term them, produced such an effect on the king, that he transmitted directions for putting to death, within four days, the whole body of the Portuguese, directing also, that their bodies should be cut into quarters, and hung up in the principal streets of the city. This mandate being conveyed to Bungor, the good-natured inhabitants, who had now formed an intimate acquaintance with the strangers, were thrown into agonies of grief. A daughter of the Broquen having taken a Portuguese woman into her house, a number of ladies repaired thither, and found her, in the prospect of her father and husband's death, uttering the most frightful cries, and tearing her face in such a manner, that it streamed all over with blood. Their hearts were completely melted, and they determined to join in writing a letter to the queen mother, whose intercession, they hoped, might procure the pardon of these unfortunate strangers. In this epistle, they begin address.

ing her majesty by the following appellations :
“ Sacred pearl congealed in the largest oyster of
“ the deepest waters ! tress of golden hair, en-
“ twined with flowers ! whose feet rest on our
“ head as the ruby in its ring !” They then pro-
ceeded, in a very prolix manner, to state the
pitiabile condition of the Portuguese lady, and the
earnest wish of all, that mercy should be extend-
ed to her countrymen. A beautiful young lady
of rank undertook to convey this letter, and en-
force its petition : accordingly, being introduced
to the queen by an aunt of hers, she fell on her
knees, and entirely gained over her majesty, who
carried them to the king. The reading of the
letter, and their joint entreaty, softened him also.
He not only remitted the sentence of death,
but ordered that they should be provided with a
vessel to convey them wherever they were des-
tined ; declining, however, to see men who,
“ though conceiving highly of God, paid so little
“ obedience to his law.” The Broquen having
received this mandate, went to the prison, when
the Portuguese, imagining that he was come to
execute the sentence, raised a loud cry, “ Lord
“ have mercy on us !” which they repeated three
or four times in so doleful a manner, that a num-
ber of the spectators melted into tears. They
were soon comforted, however, and spent the
time which elapsed previous to the fitting out of

the vessel, in a continual round of feasting and jollity with the hospitable and festive Loochoos.

In return for the kindness experienced in these islands, Pinto concludes with an earnest exhortation to his countrymen to undertake the conquest of them without delay. This, he conceives, might be easily achieved with two thousand men, since they neither possess arms, nor understand the use of them. The country is said to resemble Japan, in some parts more mountainous, in others plainer and more fertile. It produces copper in vast quantities; spices, many of which are superior to those of India; and timber, from which thousands of ships might be built. Upon the whole, there seems no reason to doubt of the general truth of Pinto's narrative with regard to these islands. The features of the country, and the character of the inhabitants, strikingly agree with those reported by Mr M'Leod and Captain Hall, with the single exception of the liberty enjoyed by the females; but the seclusion which our navigators observed may have been introduced, in the course of several centuries, by a continued intercourse with China and Japan.

From Loochoo our author soon reached Malacca, where his alertness and knowledge of the coasts of Asia recommended him to the notice of the government; and he was sent on a mission

to Martaban. He was afterwards employed in a similar manner in different parts of Siam and Japan, and spent thenceforth a more orderly and respectable, though less eventful life. On the 22d September 1558 he arrived at Lisbon, where he took up his residence, but complains bitterly that nothing was done to relieve the extreme poverty under which he laboured. This he thinks somewhat hard, after having spent twenty-one years, and been thirty times made captive, in the service of his majesty, in whose cause he seems to have fancied that all the exploits above recorded had been achieved. He acquits, however, God and the king; the former, he candidly admits, having, in his sins, ample ground to withhold any good from him; while the favourable dispositions of his majesty were intercepted by those who ought to have been its instruments; the fault, he conceives, lying here in the pipes only, and not in the source.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the English East India Company seem to have turned their attention to the Red Sea, and the coast of Guzerat. In March 1607, Captain ALEXANDER SHARPEY was sent out on a combined expedition to these two destinations. "In an unfortunate "houre" he weighed anchor, "with the two tall "shippes, the Ascension and the Union." He

sailed without any pause round Africa, till he came to the island of Pemba; when, finding both wind and current adverse, he run upwards of two hundred leagues to the south-east, in hopes of attaining a favourable breeze. He was disappointed, and was tossed about for more than a month, when he happily came upon twelve or thirteen uninhabited islands, which he called the Desolate Islands, (probably the Seychelles). He says, "These islands ought very diligently to be sought of them that shall travaile hereafter, because of the good refreshing that is upon them." They abound, he says, in cocoa-nuts, fish, turtles, and are covered with palmeto-trees; "so that these islands seemed to us an earthly paradise." Thus refreshed, they proceeded on their voyage, and after struggling long with contrary winds, entered the Red Sea, and came to Aden. The governor immediately came to invite Captain Sharpey ashore, and received him with every possible honour, "not suffering him once scanty to tread on the ground, but mounted him up on a faire Arabian horse." After every species of good treatment, he returned to the ship, and sailed for Mocha, the great mart of Arabia, where they were also "most lovingly received." Having spent six weeks there, they came down the Gulf, and touched at Socotora. As they were taking in water here, a violent gale arose, in which

they lost two of their anchors : having lost two already in the Red Sea, they had now only other two remaining. Having sailed across the Indian Ocean to Diu, they began steering for Surat. A Moor, however, warned them that the passage was very dangerous, and offered to procure a pilot ; but the master, “ not regarding the words “ of the aforesaid Moore,” set sail without any precaution. That night they struck on the shoals, and next day the vessel was completely wrecked. “ Thus was this tall ship lost, to the great hinder-
“ ance of the worshipful Company, and the utter
“ undoing of all us the poore mariners.” They succeeded, however, in getting the whole crew on board of two small boats, “ being a thing most
“ miraculous,” and began steering for the entrance of the river of Surat. “ But note how the
“ Lord did preserve us.” They were obliged, “ contrary to their mindes,” to put into the river of Gandevée, when they learned that five Portuguese frigates were stationed at the bar of Surat, who would at once have taken them all prisoners. Gandevée they found governed by a Banian, one of those who “ observe the law of Pythagoras,
“ and holde it a great sinne to eate of any thing
“ that hath life or breath.” The women, he says, were formerly accustomed invariably to burn themselves after the death of their husbands ;
“ but now of late years they have learned more

“ witte.” Still those who omit this sacrifice
“ are ever after held for no honest women.”

Jones was “ in many determinations” how to return home. The rest went to Hawkins, then ambassador at the Mogul court, to seek a passage by land through Persia; but thinking this, he does not say why, “ no fit way for him,” he earnestly sought some mode of returning by sea. “ It pleased God, of his goodness, to send a father “ of the order of St Paul,” who becoming acquainted with our sailor, undertook to procure him a passage at least into Portugal, “ which “ promise he did accomplish most faithfully.” Jones, therefore, set sail for Goa on the 18th November, and arrived at Lisbon on the 3d August 1610.

THOUGH Sharpey and his “ tall ships” had met with so unfortunate a catastrophe, there was nothing in the commercial part of their adventures tending to discourage the hope of a successful trade. A new squadron was therefore fitted out, consisting of the Trades-Increase of 1000 tons, under Sir HENRY MIDDLETON, the Pepper-Corn of 250 tons, under Captain NICHOLAS DOUNTON, and the Darling of 90 tons. We have narratives of the voyage both by Middleton and Dounton. They set sail for the Red Sea, and made the circuit of Africa, without meeting with any thing

extraordinary, till they came to the island of Socotora, where they touched to take in water. The king received Sir Henry well, and brought him to his house, “where being set in a chaire by him, “there passed many complements, which I omit.” He praised much the trade of the Red Sea, and the character of the people of Aden and Mocha, but confirmed the loss of the Ascension, “which “was no little grieve for me to heare.” Of the island, Downton observes, that its chief produce is aloes, though the annual amount does not exceed a ton. Cattle may be bought, but “exceed- “ing small, according to the drie rockie barren- “nesse of the island; wood, at twelve-pence a “man’s burthen; every particular is a very deare “pennyworth;” and concludes, “of rocks and “stones, drie and bare, it seems the whole island “is composed.” Supplied and encouraged, Sir Henry then steered for Aden, which, he says, “standeth at the foot of a mountain on a vale, “and maketh a faire shew.” Downton, however, struck with the barrenness of the country behind, would scarce have looked for a town there. However, the situation is strong, being particularly defended by an “high rocke, somewhat larger than “the Tower of London, which is not by enemies “to be in haste ascended;” the road up being so steep and narrow, “that foure men may keep “down a multitude.” They were received with

much outward shew of kindness, and assured, that as Englishmen they were welcome, and that Captain Sharpey had found ample vent for his goods. The natives seemed at first, however, shy of trading, and Sir Henry merely applied for a pilot, which was promised him; but they afterwards came, saying, that the pilot's wife would not let him go, without four English sailors in pledge. At the same time they began to vaunt the advantageous trade which might be carried on at their own port, "with glozing shewes of indigo, mirh, "and divers other things." They allowed that the former governor had done every thing in his power to discourage trade, but said the present one was anxious to recal it. An Arab, indeed, on being examined, said, that this governor indeed was a little better than the last, "but all the "Turkes in generall starke naught." Middleton, however, was at last persuaded to leave the Pepper-Corn, and proceed up himself with the Trades-Increase and Darling.

Sir Henry passed the Straits of Babel Mandeb, where he fell in with two Arab pilots, who "tooke "upon them to be very skilful," but in fact run him aground on a bank of sand near Mocha. As soon as they were descried, "a Turke, a pro- "per man," came out, and assured them, that if Englishmen, they were welcome, and if they came to seek trade, "they should not faile of that they

“looked for.” He made light of the running aground, to which he said all large ships from India were liable, and never found any serious inconvenience from it. Sir Henry was then assured of every commercial advantage he could desire, only that, according to the custom of the place, it was necessary to come on shore and wait upon the Aga. Sir Henry, being welcomed with so much kindness, did not hesitate to comply with this invitation. He was received at landing “by
“divers chiefe men, and with musicke brought to
“the Aga’s house, where were assembled all the
“chiefe men of the towne.” The Aga received him with the most extreme courtesy, and caused him to sit down by himself, while all the rest of the company were standing. After assuring him of every commercial privilege, and of security from all injury, he caused him to stand up, “and
“one of his chiefe men put upon my backe a
“vest of crimson silke and silver, saying, I need-
“ed not to doubt of any evil, for that was the
“grand senior’s protection.” Sir Henry then departed “in my new coate, with the musicke of
“the towne;” and was so much gratified with his reception, that he agreed to remain a few days on land, to superintend the mercantile transactions, and get his pinnace repaired.

During Sir Henry’s stay at Mocha, not a day elapsed without some courteous message from the

Aga, usually accompanied by presents. On the eighth day that chief sent word, that the fast being now on the eve of terminating, he would take him an excursion through his gardens, and other parties of pleasure. The same evening, Sir Henry and some of his officers were sitting before the door to enjoy the fresh air, when an alarm arose, that "the Turkes and his people" "were by the eares at the backe of the house." Sir Henry ran and called to his men to come and secure the house, when some one struck him from behind, so that he fell down senseless. His hands were then pinioned behind, "so strait, "that the extreme pain brought me to my memorie." As soon as he shewed any symptoms of life, a Turk took him by each arm, and led him to the Aga, rifling him by the way of all the jewels about his person. At the Aga's he found others of his company "in like taking," and was dismayed to learn, that eight had been killed, and fourteen severely wounded. He himself, with seven others, were chained together by the neck. Their feet were also chained, and their hands fastened so close behind their backs, that the blood was ready to burst out at the ends of their fingers. During the night their guards took compassion, and eased them from the most galling of their bonds, which afforded them present relief, "though still overcharged with grieve of heart."

Meanwhile, as they afterwards learned, three boats, with a hundred and fifty Turks, were sent off to capture the Darling. They set upon her so suddenly, that they had boarded her, and killed three men, before the full alarm was given; but “now it pleased God in mercy to look on us.” The crew having mustered, and seeing the Turks “standing very thicke, hollowing and clanging their swordes upon the decke,” threw amongst them a barrel of gunpowder, followed by a torch, which caused such an explosion, as made them precipitately retire to the half-deck. Here they “were entertayned with another trayne, which put them in such feare, that they leaped into the sea, hanging by the ship’s side, desiring mercy, which was not there to be found.” The enraged English put to the sword the whole body of their assailants, except one man, who found means to hide himself “till the furie was past.”

Early next morning Sir Henry was called before the Aga, whose rage was still increased by the above catastrophe, though he carefully concealed it from his captives. He entirely laid aside the false and smiling countenance which he had hitherto worn, and frowning sternly, asked, how he, an infidel, dared approach so near to their holy city of Medina? Middleton having referred to his own invitation and pledged faith,

he replied, that the order was imperious from the grand seignior, to “captive” all Christians who should come into those seas, much more to Mocha, the “doore of their holy citie.” His next object was to demand that Sir Henry should write to those on board the vessels, desiring that both the ships should be brought on shore; and he was then promised the small one to convey home himself and his crew. Sir Henry, as became a British seaman, gave an absolute refusal; and on being told, that if he persisted his head would be cut off, “I bade him do so.” The Aga then resolved to employ the most rigorous means of awing him into acquiescence. The chain was taken off which bound him by the neck to the other six, his feet and hands were then manacled, and he was thrown singly into a dirty dog’s kennel, under a pair of stairs. At night, on the intercession of the Banian consul, he was removed into a somewhat more eligible dungeon; but even here “my lodging was upon the hard ground, my pillow a stone: my companions to keep me waking were griefe of heart, and multitude of rats, which, if I chanced to sleepe, would awake me with running over me.” Every means, both of threat or entreaty, were employed, to induce him to write a letter of the tenor above mentioned. He resolutely refused; but agreed to write one, asking how many Turks were captive in the

Darling, saying nothing, according to agreement, of his own treatment, yet slipping in a warning to be on their guard, and by no means to come on shore.

Meantime the seamen on board were "very evill to passe," and "at their wits' ends what to do." After much perplexity, an honest fellow, John Chambers, undertook to go on shore at all hazards, "rather than see men live in this discontent." In fact the Turks, after having drawn from him all the information possible, beyond expectation, introduced him to Sir Henry. "They brought him to my darke cell, who, coming out of the light, was a great while before he could so see me. He delivered me the letter, with watery eyes to see me fettered." Middleton asked him if he was not afraid of being detained as a prisoner? but the courageous seaman replied, "he came with that resolution to take such part as I did, if they would be so villainously minded." However, they not only allowed him to go on board, but to return next day.

We shall now look back for a moment to the fortune which attended Dounton at Aden. Immediately on the departure of the *Trades-Increase*, the English began working the ship up to the town, "as men striving to hasten their own harmes." They announced to the *Mir* or governor, that they were ready to treat with any

merchants who should come on board, but that they would not land the goods. The Mir positively rejected such terms, which seemed “a contradiction to his purpose and policie;” at the same time he arrested three men for the dues of anchorage. Dounton, meanwhile, the more he saw of the city, found the less reason “to conceit any hope of trade or honest dealing.” It had once been large and populous, but now “the houses, both great and small, are greatly ruined; merchants none to be discerned worthy of that calling; money seemeth to be very scant.” This last deficiency appeared manifest, when a piece of eight being shewn to the people, they passed it from hand to hand, “gazing as at a strange thing;—an ill signe in a place where a ship’s lading is brought to sell.” The governor, however, being soon to leave the place, became daily more anxious that they should be “so foolish as to land.” He continually reminded Dounton of the confidence which Captain Sharpey had reposed in them, and the benefits he had derived from his trade. Dounton observes, that Sharpey being the first, “perchance might passe away in some reasonable sort,” but that “since then they have had time to advise themselves how to do more villanie.” He found himself meanwhile awkwardly situated at Aden, being dependant on the town for water, “the wind and

“ sea both often most vehement,” and “ a low
“ shoare, nothing to hinder the mayne suffe and
“ violence of the mounting billowes.” The Mir,
however, became every day more courteous. He
treated the three prisoners with the greatest kind-
ness, declaring, that the moment the ship should
begin to trade, they would be set at liberty. All
who went on shore were received with open arms.
The whole crew began to murmur at Captain
Dounton, for refusing to avail himself of such
friendly dispositions. He was at length so far
wrought upon, that being in want of small rope,
he applied for permission to make some under the
walls of the town, “ which was promised with
“ great favour, in the best and convenientest
“ place they could find.” As soon as a party of
the men were on shore for this purpose, they re-
ceived notice that the Mir had set all his smiths
to work in the manufacture of shackles ; but
their confidence was such, that “ they took it as
“ a merrie jest.” Two days after, while not only
the men employed, but several others for their
amusement, had come on shore, the whole, to the
number of twenty, were seized, stripped of all they
had, and put in irons. Among these were the
surgeon, apothecary, cooper, carpenter, boatswain,
and other inferior officers. Dounton does not
give any account of his feelings upon this disas-
ter, but states, that he immediately set out to join

Sir Henry. The prisoners were carried to Mocha, and shared the fate of the rest, which we shall now proceed to relate.

On the 20th December, orders were received to conduct them to Zenan (Sana), the capital of Yemen, and residence of the Basha. Their irons were struck off, and they were mounted upon asses, being closely guarded on the way, though not so narrowly but that one found means to escape. In passing through the towns, they “were
“marshalled two and two in a ranke, as they do at
“Stambola (Constantinople) with captives taken
“in the waries, our Aga riding in triumph as a
“great conquerour.” Middleton had not duly regarded the warnings given him of the cold he would meet with in the high country; he found it exceedingly severe, and the ground covered every morning with hoar-frost. They reached Zenan in fifteen days, and being immediately led before the Basha, were received in the same rough manner as by the Aga at Mocha. Middleton, however, was sent to a tolerable lodging, though all his companions were clapt in “waightie irons.” The only tragical event occurred in the case of a youth, who does not seem to have possessed the true British hardihood, since, “at such time as I
“was brought before the Basha, he thinking I was
“so led to have my head strook off, fell in a sound
“with very feare, thinking his turne would not

“be long after; hee fell sick upon it, and shortly
“after died.”

Although the first aspect of affairs at Zenan was thus gloomy, circumstances soon occurred tending to give them a more favourable aspect. A Moorish merchant of Cairo, an intimate friend of the Basha's, wrote to him, that he would soon ruin the country entirely, if he followed his present courses; and coming himself to Zenan, “iterated
“what he had written.” At the same time the Basha *Caia*, or lieutenant-general, who shared in some degree the power of the Basha, espoused their cause; and being in the course of their stay created a vizir, he derived, “from so high a
“place and calling,” a very considerable influence. The first fruits of this favour consisted in the men being taken out of their dungeon, allowed the use of fresh air, and a due proportion of beef, which soon restored them to their wonted health. At length, after six weeks' stay, Sir Henry was again called before the Basha, who began to extol his own clemency, but added, that the Grand Seignior had a long sword, and that neither he, nor any Christian nor Lutheran, must come again into those seas. Sir Henry intreated, that if any of his countrymen should venture before he had time to give them warning, they might not be betrayed as he had been; but could not obtain such a promise. Warning had also been given,

that neither the goods, nor a pinnacle which had been seized at Mocha, would be returned, as they had both been put to the Grand Seignior's account. Sir Henry expressed his dread, that the Aga at Mocha, being his mortal enemy, would not fulfil in his favour the intentions of the Basha; to which the latter proudly answered: "Is not my
" onely word sufficient to turn a whole city upside
" down? If Regib Aga wrong you, I will pull his
" skin over his eares, and give you his head."

In leaving Zenan, the author describes it as somewhat larger than Bristol, well built of stone and lime, and encircled with a strong mud wall. Round it were numerous gardens, orchards, and country-houses, beyond which extended a barren and stony valley, encircled by lofty hills; wood and water were scarce. The castle was filled with women and children belonging to the chiefs of the neighbouring mountains, who could only be kept in awe by these hostages. On their way they passed through Tayes (Täas), a walled city half as large as Zenan. Mocha is represented as a third less than Tayes, "unwalled, very popu-
" lous, seated close to the sea-side, in a salt, sandy,
" barren soyle." The fort by which it was defended was then in ruins. On reaching Mocha, Sir Henry was received by the Aga with the same false and smiling countenance he had at first worn. He expressed deep regret at his former

conduct, prompted solely, he said, by the imperious commands of his master, but assured him that he might now depend on his friendship. "I soothed him up, but believed nothing he said." The English were first conducted to a handsome house by the sea-side; but this appearing insecure, they were, in two days, transferred to a strong situation in the middle of the town, where a guard of soldiers was placed round them; however, they were well accommodated. The Aga afterwards invited them to a feast, and calling for the Alcoran, voluntarily swore, "that he ought me no evil will, but wished me all good." Sir Henry "seemed greatly satisfied therewith, though he gave no credit thereto." In fact, he was detained for nearly two months, and was confidently assured, that the Aga had not the least intention of allowing him to return to the ship. Under these circumstances, he determined, at whatever hazard, to attempt an escape. He wrote to the ship, desiring the people to send to the shore a boat well manned, and with it a bottle of aquavitæ, and one of wine, for the purpose of intoxicating his keepers. He then called for Mr Fennel, his chief officer, and before communicating his plan, made him swear, first, that he would conceal it; and next, that he would say nothing against it. He then stated it to be, "that I would convey myself into an emptie

“butt, and so be carried downe to the boate as
“an emptie caske.” After much deliberation,
he says, “this devise it pleased God to put into
“my head.” As the rest of the company were
by no means so closely watched as himself, they
were desired to run to a point on the sea-coast,
at a little distance, where he would come round
in the boat and take them up. On the day ap-
pointed, every thing happened favourably; “The
“Aga, with all the chiefe men of the towne were
“rid abroad in great state to his garden to be
“merrie; which I seeing, did not a little glad my
“heart.” At the same time, the Subasha “fell
“to drinking hard at a racky house;” and
though he returned before the appointed hour,
he went to the other end of the house, and was
not in a state to take very diligent heed of what
was going forward. The carpenters, therefore,
had full time to hoop up Sir Henry in the empty
barrel, which was forthwith carried to sea. He
then pushed out the head, went into the boat,
and hastened to the appointed place, where he
took on board part of his men. As the alarm had
been instantly given, the rest, through their own
want of diligence, as he alleges, were overtaken
and made prisoners. Sir Henry then pushed out
to sea, and reached the vessel.

The same day, two Arabs, in a boat, brought
intelligence that the Aga was in the greatest

fury; that he had caused all the prisoners to be chained by the neck, and was threatening their lives. Sir Henry immediately wrote, that either the Aga must give up his men and the pinnace, or he would fire all the ships in the road, and do his best to batter the town about his ears. Till he had obtained the men, he postponed all mention of the goods, which, however, he was determined also to seek. The Aga, intimidated by this notice, replied, that he could do nothing till he could communicate with the Basha at Zenan, which would require at least fifteen days. To the English who were with him, he inveighed most vehemently against the demand of the pinnace, saying, Middleton had been told it was placed to the account of the Grand Seignior, and that he might as reasonably demand the goods. The English, possibly not aware of their commander's intention, replied, that the goods were totally out of the question, but that they could not return home without the pinnace. Accordingly, in the appointed time, orders arrived to deliver to the English commander the men and the pinnace. As soon as Sir Henry had these in his possession, he wrote a letter to the Aga, refreshing his memory as to all the wrongs that had been done to himself, enumerating all his losses in time, money, and goods; and setting a round value on each of these, he caused them to a-

mount to seven hundred thousand rials, in default of receiving which, he would forthwith proceed to burn the ships and batter the town. The Aga replied, that he had acted justly, and only according to the orders of the Basha; but that since Sir Henry was not pleased, “the best way were to referre it to the hearing of our betters at Stambola.” Sir Henry sent word, that “nothing I ought the Basha, neither was I his factor, and therefore no way his debtor, whereby he might challenge any of those goods, which, by his order, I was robbed of; wherefore I must and would be paid for them, not at Stambola, but even there, where I had beene wronged, would I be righted.” After ten days’ delay, several of the principal Banian merchants came on board, and assured our commander, that they had all along lamented the hard treatment he had met with, and now more than ever, since the Aga had sent notice, that they must either satisfy him or have their throats cut. Sir Henry said, it was from the Aga, not from them, that he sought redress. They “willed him to leave those talkes,” and state what his demands were. After some discussion, it was agreed that the lead and iron should be returned, and eighteen thousand rials be paid in money.

Sir Henry having thus satisfactorily settled his affairs at Mocha, set sail for the coast of India.

Having, with some difficulty, sailed through the Straits of Babelmandeb, he passed Mount Felix at Guardafui, and arrived at Socotora. Here he bargained with the king for the aloes on hand, though he “ could not of long time bring him to “ ask reason for it.” He then steered for the road of Surat, where he found several Portuguese frigates, who sent a messenger requesting to see his pass from the King of Spain, on producing which he might depend on receiving any service in their power. Sir Henry treated this demand with the most sovereign contempt, telling the messenger, “ that he was sent by the King’s Majestie of “ England; that it was a free countrey for all “ nations, and neither the Great Mogull nor his “ people any way in vassalage to the Portugals.” He begged them not to oblige him to use force in order to see his countrymen at Surat; “ for, “ by one meanes or the other, I must and would “ have them.” The Portuguese did not take any immediate steps upon this occasion, but they seized every opportunity of attacking the English, both openly and by ambuscade; however, they were always beat off. Having established themselves in the road, the governor and Hoja Hassan, a great merchant, came on board. “ I set “ before them such cates as on such a sudden I “ could provide, which they fel roundly to.” They were then shewn the cargo, and allowed to

pick out as presents any thing which particularly pleased them. Sir Henry then agreed to exchange a certain proportion of his cargo for the goods of India, but stipulated that the bargain should be considered as quite final, before he landed his bulky merchandise. No sooner, however, was the landing effected, than Hoja Hassan “flies “from all he had formerly promised,” insists on having the goods at his own terms, “rayling and “raving like a madman, saying he would have “none of our lead nor other goods, but instantly “be gone.” Sir Henry seeing matters come to this crisis, resolved to take strong measures; and happening to have the governor and other leading persons on board, he caused them to be arrested and detained till the bargain was implemented. He thus gained his present point; but a message was not long of arriving, charging them “to be gone with speed out of the towne; “for neither trade nor factory was to be had for “us.” Middleton then sailed to Dabul, on the coast of Guzerat, where he found a little trade, but not at all adequate to his indemnification. He now steered for the Red Sea, and adopted, for the guidance of his future conduct, a principle which the rigid casuist might feel some hesitation in sanctioning. Since he had brought out goods to trade both with the Indians and Arabians, and had not been allowed to deal with

either, he conceived that a little salutary violence might justly be employed. He therefore stopped every Indian ship he met, and having made a complete survey of her whole cargo, took whatever appeared to him eligible, giving in return such a portion of goods as seemed to himself an adequate payment. Proceeding in this manner, to the great dissatisfaction of the parties concerned, he at length reached Mocha, when he was seized with a desire to avenge afresh the injury sustained, and at the same time to fill his own pocket. He sent in, therefore, a round demand of a hundred thousand rials, in failure of which, he announced the detention of all the Indian ships bound for Mocha. The Aga declared that he could not and would not pay any such sum; and the Indian vessels themselves were obliged to come to a compromise with Sir Henry. Thus closely grazing the borders of piracy, our admiral continued for some time moving up and down the Red Sea. He then left it to sail for Sumatra, whither it is not at present our intention to follow him.

In 1683-4, Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM was despatched, in the service of the Company, to different parts of the Indian seas. He wrote a narrative of his adventures, which exists only in MS. in the British Museum. As it is thus not acces-

sible to the public, and as it displays considerable shrewdness of observation, with all the blunt and courageous honesty of a British sailor, it may not be uninteresting to introduce here some of its leading contents.

A war being expected between England and Holland, Sir Thomas was despatched with a squadron to attack the Dutch settlements in the East Indies. With this view he sailed direct for Batavia, their capital. On reaching the eastern extremity of Java, he took possession, in the Company's name, of Hippin's Island, one of the many with which the Straits of Sunda are studded. Several "Javas" came from the opposite coast, bringing "good fruites, cockes, hens, and pretty "birds." They expressed great joy at the prospect of having the English for neighbours, giving many particulars of hard usage received from the Dutch, who obliged the king to cede this territory, killed and took their cows without ceremony, "with many other sad complaints." These discontents being viewed as a good omen, the squadron sailed in high spirits for Batavia, when their career was suddenly checked. A vessel called the China Merchant came up, and delivered instructions from the Secret Committee, apprising the commander that peace had been concluded with Holland; that he should therefore cease from all hostile proceedings, and sail direct for

the coast of Persia. "I was very sorry, and so
"seemed all my officers." Immediately eleven
sail came in sight, which proved all Dutch, and
exhibited three flags, being those of an admiral,
vice and rear-admiral. Our commodore imme-
diately sailed in amongst them, and placed him-
self on the admiral's weather quarter. Being
asked "what news?" he told the reconciliation
that had taken place. This seemed welcome
tidings, "but they much feared the contrary."
However they behaved with all imaginable civi-
lity, giving our party baskets with various fruits,
in return for which they received a large Cheshire
cheese, and a bottle of Brunswick rum. On their
invitation, the squadron proceeded to Batavia for
refreshments. The governor immediately told
them they were welcome, and that the castle
should be their home. This castle they found a
magnificent palace, equal to many of those inha-
bited by the greatest European potentates. Three
lords led them through three great courts, where
they saw "on both sides a guard of soldiers, well
"accoutred in backs, breast, and head-piece."
They then found "a lifeguard of handsome pro-
"per men, clothed in scarlet britches, with silver
"lace, and yellow satin flowered doublets, very
"fine and gentile." They produced a present of
wine, ale, mum, beer, &c. to the value of L.45,
"which was kindly received, and as kindly re-

“taliated.” After all kindness and kind offers, they “fell upon asking what news.” Sir Thomas gave them the tidings of peace, which he had so unwillingly received. They manifested great doubt on the subject, and evidently suspected him of coming as a spy ; however he “at last convinced them of that belief.” Wine was then produced, and they drank the King and Duke of York, which was returned by giving the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland. They were then invited to take the air, and went out almost in regal pomp. The coach was preceded by a lifeguard on horseback, blowing trumpets, while, as they passed through the city, the people came to their doors, “bowing, as we do to his majesty when he passes through the city.” The houses were “very fine and fair,” and the streets intersected by rivers, navigable for loaded boats. They then came to a garden, watered by a fine river, and containing “all fruits and beasts of those parts ; which was very strange.” Night overtaking them, a hundred men and boys attended with lights, and they returned to an excellent supper. They afterwards dined three times, with never less than seventy-two dishes at table. During their stay Sir Thomas had some conversation with Mr Jones, an English merchant residing at Batavia. He learned that his approach had caused “a great broile in their city and castle.”

The Dutch government had been taken completely by surprise, and had fitted out the eleven ships in the utmost haste, and without any requisite provision. To arm them, fifty guns had been taken from the city, which had thus been left defenceless. The inhabitants had declared their resolution, in case of a descent, not to defend the place; and the natives were ready to join the English, being "so highly taxed and "racked, that they could not be worse." In short, Sir Thomas was assured that it had rested entirely with him to have had "the eleven ships "for his breakfast, and Batavia for his dinner." As those meals, however, were now out of the reach of the British commander, he proceeded to take a courteous leave of the governor, when he was saluted with such a noise of instruments, that "I could not hear their trumpets, nor they "mine." He sailed directly to Hippin's Island, to take up the party who had been left to defend it. To his great surprise he found nothing but a spaniel, three goats, and some pieces of pork. He thought at first the sailors had gone up to the hills; but next morning, on firing a gun, a prow rowed out of the nearest cove, "then another, "and another, till I saw six." He then concluded they had "played the rogues" with his men. An armed barge was immediately sent out, which followed the prows to the opposite coast, and

after some discussion, all the English were given up except two. From those who returned it appeared, a message had been delivered to them, that the British commander had gone to Bantam, where he wished them to meet him. Grantham now "began to smell it was a Dutch trick, and "like them." He announced, therefore, to Heer Harson, the Dutch commodore, "that if the "King of Bantam will not furthwith deliver my "men, I will, by sea and land, cut the throats of "as many of his subjects as my two men have "haired on their heads." This annunciation led to a speedy deliverance of the captives.

Sir Thomas now set sail for the Persian Gulf, and after touching at Muscat came to anchor in Gombroon roads, where he waited for the factors who had all gone up to Ispahan. He found there eight Dutch ships, with ten Moorish vessels which they had captured. The Dutch "hoped "I would not meddle to take in any goods," hinting that they were entitled to the exclusive trade of the Gulf. Grantham replied, that he expected to gain L.1000 by the freight; that if they would pay him that sum, he would gladly desist, "else I would take in as much as I could "conveniently carry, with a resolution to defend "it against any persons that might attempt the "contrary." After this he heard no more "relating to this affair." He then sailed across to

Surat, where he received a commission to treat with some malecontents who had taken possession of Bombay, professing allegiance to the king, but expelling Mr Ward, the governor appointed by the Company. He proceeded thither without delay, and in landing was readily allowed to enter the gates. There being a guard of soldiers on both sides, he told them he was glad to see so many countrymen, and hoped they were all "king's boys;" which was answered in the affirmative. He then entered the room where the officers were, and opened the affair by saying, "he was sorry to see such difference with the Honourable Company." Then "almost every man's mouth was open to justify what had been done." They insisted that every step had been taken with a view to the king's service, and "they doubted not to receive his majesty's thanks for the same." Sir Thomas replied, that his majesty would never encourage nor thank any such illegal proceedings, nor would notice their authors otherwise than "by sending a commission to hang them." It seems "they could not endure to hear such arguments." The conversation therefore became general, and a bottle of wine was drank. Grantham being then invited to dinner, they drank the King, Queen, and Duke of York, with eleven guns to each, which were answered from the ship. Several days were

thus spent in feasting and good cheer, till Sir Thomas determined to bring them to close quarters. On the subject being introduced, they all began to open a long budget of complaints against Ward. Grantham said, that if Ward had done a thousand times more than was imputed to him, they might indeed have preferred a complaint; but that “to turne out the Honourable Company, their masters, was plaine rebellion.” They then said that they waited the king’s answer, and if that was unfavourable, were ready to lay their heads on the block: Grantham judged this a mistake which it was his duty to rectify: “Noe,” said he, “it will not be a blocke, but you will be all hanged, and bring your families to shame and disgrace.” They were so far, however, from feeling any gratitude for this correction, that “they took it very heinously, and high words ensued. Thorburne fetched a booke desiring me to reade; I told them I came not there to reade bookes, and that there was no court nor judge in England but would condemn them to be hanged. So we had many *pros* and *cons*, but no determination.” They affected to hold our commander’s threats at defiance, and said that he might land his men, but that they would not give up the fort till they knew the king’s determination. “After all those heats and debates, we came to be more cool.” Gran-

tham then said, " I have a large commission : I
" shall propose to you what may make you happy
" men, and bless the day of my coming hither ; if
" not, I leave you guilty of your owne ruin."
The proposition, when fully explained, proved to
amount merely to pledging himself for a full and
free pardon. They insisted upon keeping their
places, " without which they could not live ;" but
this was positively rejected ; and after two or
three days' parley, they gave in ; Grantham add-
ing to his former terms, three weeks' pay, a tub of
punch, and three hogsheads of arrack. They
protested, however, that they delivered the fort
not to the Company but to the king. " I was
" glad to get it any wayes." He was then invit-
ed to dinner, after which he drank the healths of
the King, Queen, and Duke. " It was too soon
" to drink the Honourable Company's." The
money and stores were then delivered up, and
" so ended the evening with drinking good claret."
Next day he came to the fort to receive the oath
of allegiance. He learned, however, that there
were some " disaffected rogues," who had even
engaged to kill him if opportunity should offer.
He judged it prudent, however, to take no public
notice of this, " for fear of opening the gap
" again." He merely took care, in going out, to
have himself and guard well armed, " in hopes

“ of not being cheated of my life, which I praise
“ God Almighty for.”

A few weeks after, a new governor arrived from England, and all things being settled, our commander set sail for Europe.

THE last voyage which I shall notice, is one with which scarcely any of my readers is probably acquainted ; and which, besides being diversified by some singular adventures, led along a different part of the coast from those whom we have hitherto accompanied. It was performed in 1718, between Goa and Macao, by Antonio de ALBUQUERQUE Coelho, who had been appointed governor of the last mentioned fortress. Having missed the vessel in which he was to sail from Goa, he courageously determined to proceed across the peninsula to Madras, in hopes of obtaining a passage from thence to China in an English vessel. He took with him a small party of Portuguese and of Kaffer slaves, as guards and attendants. He seems to have determined that this little expedition should make a grand display of prowess, taking avowedly for his models the Gamas, the Castros, and the Albuquerquees, who had raised the pride and glory of the Portuguese name to the highest pitch. The difficulties of nature were those which he had first to contend with. In proceeding along the coast, they often swam, rather

than travelled, the country being so inundated, that the bearers were obliged to carry the palanquins on their heads, to prevent them from being quite drenched. They encountered rivers, and even arms of the sea, which to the rest of the party appeared impassable ; but Albuquerque always pushed them through, being extolled by his biographer as possessing a peculiar art of discovering those places which it was possible to ford without being absolutely drowned. To refresh them after their journeys, their lodgings at night usually were only the outer porch of a heathen temple, rendered doubly odious to them by its impious destination, and by the stench which pervaded it. As they were falling asleep too, there was wont to begin a doleful concert of the Hindoo devotees, addressing praises or petitions to their false divinities ; sounds every way so grating to the pious ears of the Portuguese, that they sometimes started up and fell sword in hand on the blinded worshippers, who fled precipitately. A more serious affair was like to occur, when they came to a great river which could only be crossed in boats, and the Avaldar, or superintendent of the passage, previous to supplying these, demanded a fee for his " monstrous pagodas." The pious commander indignantly refused ; whereupon the Avaldar declaring that he could have no boats, the Portuguese were instantly placed

in battle array, and the Avaldar standing on his defence, blood must have flowed, had not the governor of the place run up, and apologized to Albuquerque, at the same time causing the boats to be furnished. At the next river, boats had been prepared for a Brahmin of the first rank; but Albuquerque having got somewhat the start of him, caused his men to leap in, and oblige the boatmen to push off, beholding with triumph "that black minister of Satan" standing in dismay on the bank. The boatmen, however, struck with horror, plunged into the water and swam back; and the Portuguese with difficulty made their way across. Though thus trampling on all national prejudices, and even common courtesy, his commanding tone, and headlong intrepidity, seems to have overawed the effeminate natives, and enabled him to make his way to Mangalore. From that point he struck eastward into the interior of the peninsula, for the purpose of reaching Madras. The first obstacle to be surmounted was the passage of the Ghauts. One part of it was particularly critical, where there was a very steep mountain to cross, with a broad torrent at its foot; so that it was necessary to choose a favourable day for the passage. The governor fixed upon the birth-day of St Anthony, the patron saint of Portugal, assuring himself upon that ground of a prosperous issue. The guide was of

a very different opinion, and represented that the prodigious rains which had just fallen had so swelled the stream, that it could not be passed without the greatest danger, and besought him to wait a day or two. Albuquerque listened with sovereign contempt to this advice, as coming from one who knew nothing of the "superior impulses" by which he himself was actuated. When the crisis came, however, St Anthony was found insufficient to protect them from immense difficulty in effecting the passage, and from being very nearly carried down by the stream. Overwhelmed with wet and fatigue, they reached a village where there was nothing but a few hens, which the inhabitants refused to sell. The Portuguese, however, following their usual plan, seized the hens, giving the proprietors such a price as appeared to them expedient. It was soon found, however, that this domineering system, by which they had overawed the timid inhabitants of the plains, would not be brooked by these hardy mountaineers. In turning the point of a rock, Albuquerque was set upon by a party, and avoided with difficulty being killed before his countrymen could relieve him. Meantime the whole country began to rise; and the woods through which they passed were heard echoing with the sound of trumpets, which were understood to blow for the purpose of calling upon the

inhabitants to assemble and chastise these intruders. A party of a hundred even appeared in arms to stop their progress; and though the weight of their arms and discipline pushed it aside, it was understood to be only the vanguard of a much greater body. It was no longer possible, therefore, to shut their eyes on the prudence of making a very rapid march, till they reached the frontier of Maissur (Mysore), where they found a milder and more passive race. This disposition, with a little moderation which experience had taught to themselves, secured a quiet passage. On reaching Seringapatam, the citizens allowed them to recruit, and to hire fresh horses, but kept the gates fast shut against their entrance. Our author hence takes occasion to deride their small confidence in the devil whom they worshipped so blindly, that into the very centre and capital of his empire they durst not admit twelve armed men. He came next to Benguelur (Bangalore), the frontier town of Mysore, where he was also refused entrance, but was lodged in a splendid pagoda, situated in the heart of a beautiful grove, and was courteously waited upon by the constituted authorities of the place. A still more distinguished reception awaited him at Velur (Vellore), which appeared to him a place so fortified by nature and art as to be altogether impregnable. On expressing his surprise at the

skill displayed in its fortifications, he was informed that this skill was European. The designer was Jean Baptiste de St Hilaire, of French extraction, but who had entered into the service of the king of Portugal, and though now employed by an Indian prince, still retained his fealty to that monarch, and his zeal for the propagation of the faith. The governor expressed an anxious wish to see this Baptiste, who presently made his appearance. He welcomed Albuquerque most cordially, and invited him to his house, where a message soon arrived from the governor, stating that his duty did not permit him to leave the fortress, but earnestly requesting a visit. Albuquerque wishing, as he states, to avoid the delay and inconvenience, replied, that he could only enter with the arms and colours of Portugal flying, and with other insignia of pomp, which he deemed it impossible that the governor should allow. To his surprise all the terms were granted, and no excuse left. He entered, therefore, in pomp, and with the highest pride, almost deeming, that through him the days of the great heroes of Portugal were at length restored.

From Vellore Albuquerque hastened to Madras, where he was most politely received by the English governor, who even fired a salute in honour of his arrival. He stated, however, that there was no vessel sailing to China, and that the favour-

able season for that navigation was already passed. Such, however, was our governor's zeal, that finding a vessel could be hired, though without funds of his own, he raised among his countrymen as much as was needful. Every one warned him of the extreme danger he would incur by attempting to navigate these seas at such a season. Such notices did not inspire him with the slightest apprehension. He had fixed his departure for the birthday of the Holy Virgin, on whom he had besides lavished so many offers and promises, that he considered her as fully pledged to grant him a prosperous voyage. The Virgin, however, fulfilled her engagements so ill, that from the moment they left Madras it blew a continued tempest, and the ship became almost a wreck. Nor were affairs much improved when they entered the Straits of Malacca, where they encountered so dead a calm, that they could neither move back nor forward. At length the vessel was got, in a most shattered state, off the port of Malacca, then belonging to the Dutch. The pilot was sent in with a letter, requesting permission to repair the vessel, and take in the necessary supplies. The Dutch commander returned the most courteous answer, expressing his anxiety to cultivate the friendship of the Portuguese, and his readiness to grant any accommodation, upon the payment of some trifling anchorage dues, which his government had

instructed him to levy from all vessels touching at the port. Albuquerque took fire at this charge, which, however moderate in itself, appeared to him a personal insult to one who stood in his high situation. This was haughtily intimated to the Dutch commander, who returned an answer in which there was observed such a sensible diminution of courtesy, as inflamed our hero's wrath to the highest pitch; and he returned a very sharp reply, "throwing in his teeth what he was." A short interchange of such responses wholly changed the complexion of the correspondence, and from the warmest professions of friendship, they came to set each other at deadly defiance. At length the Portuguese saw issuing out of the harbour five sloops completely armed and equipped, with which their own frail shattered bark was wholly unable to cope. But nothing could shake the lofty mind of Antonio. He called together his men, and proposed that they should bear down at once, both upon the squadron and the fort, assuring them, either that such inconceivable audacity would strike the enemy with terror, or at least that they would meet that glorious death, which should be the first object of ambition to a brave man. A great majority of the crew cried out, that such conduct was downright frenzy, and that they had nothing left but to steer, even in this evil plight, for some safer shelter. Unluckily their

pilot was on shore, and could not now be got on board, so that the governor was obliged to steer them himself along an unknown coast ; and it was by a sort of miracle, that after passing through various sounds and rivers, they found their way into the port of Gior (Johore).

The kingdom of Johore, situated at the extremity of Malacca, had once been subject to Siam ; but during the divisions in which that country was involved, had shaken off the yoke. It consisted of a “ number without number ” of isles, separated by narrow channels, the principal of which, ten leagues in length, led by a winding course to the capital. The country is fruitful, and, though situated almost under the line, the world of waters by which it is surrounded preserves a perpetual freshness and coolness. Yet this moisture, as well as the vast woods which cover the land, render it very liable to pestilential diseases. The force of the sovereign was entirely naval, all their wars being carried on upon the water ; and the royal fleet consisted of a thousand barks, a hundred of which were gallies of respectable size. There happened to be at Johore an English and a Danish vessel, who, on learning our hero's doleful condition, sent a pilot to conduct him through these intricate channels. In passing up the river, he met the king taking a pleasure sail, with a number of barks attending him. Anxi-

ous to impress his majesty with a high idea of his own dignity, he arranged his men in handsome order, put out all his pendants and streamers, caused the trumpets to sound, and the harp to play. The plan succeeded : the king was pleased, and lost no time in opening a friendly communication with his new visitors. He particularly requested that the musical performers might be sent to him, in order that his wives might enjoy the pleasure of hearing them. The governor hesitated much on this proposal, being apprehensive as to the salvation of the two trumpeters and the player on the harp, who being Indians, would, he feared, in an Indian court, soon relapse into their native idolatry. However, the urgency was at length so strong, that he could not refuse. During his stay here, although his lofty demeanour involved him in pretty smart altercations with the minister, and with the European vessels in the same port, yet he always retained the royal favour. His next peril arose from causes not of his own creation. The present king, Raiamuda, was not, it seems, the rightful heir, but had succeeded by dethroning his brother ; a real or pretended son of whom, called Raiachil, now appeared in arms to claim his birth-right. Raiamuda earnestly applied for aid, in this extremity, to Albuquerque, who declined taking any active part ; but promised to maintain his present position in a nar-

row strait, which commanded the approach to the capital. When, however, the two fleets came into contact, that of the king went almost entirely over to the pretender, and his Betubandar or general proving at the same time unfaithful, he gave up all for lost, and fled with a few adherents, abandoning to the prince his crown and capital. No position could now be more critical than that of the Portuguese commander, placed between two fleets, against both of which he was hostilely committed, and neither of which he could either fight or penetrate. In this trying crisis, he seems to have displayed no small degree of spirit and generalship. A night was to elapse before the attack could be made; this was most diligently employed in giving to his vessel a falsely formidable aspect. The pieces of artillery were so disposed as to multiply their apparent number, and they were reinforced by several so skilfully made of wood, as not to be distinguished from genuine. As morning dawned, salutes were fired, drums, trumpets, and kettle-drums were sounded, and the whole ship was made to wave with colours and streamers; the whole producing an effect so striking, that even the English, who had been long familiar with the ship, were perfectly astonished at the appearance it made. Raiachil, who was pushing forward to destroy at once this despised enemy, was serious-

ly startled by the spectacle it presented. He sent two noblemen on board to seek a conference. Albuquerque was informed that they came with purposes of *amouco* (amok), prepared to sacrifice their lives for the object in view, which was either to reconnoitre, or to amuse him while the enemy made a sudden attack. He received them on the quarter-deck, sitting majestically in an easy chair, wearing an embroidered robe; while the men stood behind, well armed, and drawn up in regular array. The chiefs were visibly struck with what they saw, and especially when, a movement being made in the opposite fleet, Albuquerque announced, that unless this ceased instantly, he would open all his fire upon it. They hastened back and gave their prince a most formidable account of the Portuguese preparations, earnestly advising him by all means to adopt a conciliatory course. After some manœuvres, therefore, which Albuquerque, by the good face he kept up, always disconcerted, Raiachil sent on board to inquire what his demands were. The Portuguese commander could not shut his eyes on the obvious prudence of displaying now a magnanimous forbearance. He replied, that all he asked was, that the Portuguese should have liberty to reside and to build a church in Johore. The prince most gladly acceded to terms, the moderation of which appeared to him

quite admirable. Enmity was now converted into friendship, which was still farther cemented, by the Portuguese assisting in the reduction of the Betubandar, who had attempted to set up for himself. Albuquerque, therefore, during the remainder of his stay, enjoyed the greatest favour, and saw the foundation of the church laid. As soon, however, as his vessel could be duly equipped, he sailed for Macao, which he reached, though after a stormy passage, on the 25th May 1719.

CHAPTER VII.

TRAVELS ACROSS THE CASPIAN TO PERSIA AND BOKHARA.

*Plan for an English Trade with the Caspian.—Jenkinson's
Journey to Bokhara—into Persia.—Edwards.—Burrough.—
Travels of Cubero.—Beckewitz.—Bruce.—Elton.—Hanway.
Thomson.*

THE reign of Edward VI. may be dated as the commencement of British commercial enterprise. Animated by the example and splendid success of the Portuguese, a body of merchants in London formed themselves into a company “for the discovery of lands and countries unknown.” The East was the object to which their eyes were directed; but, as they were not yet prepared to dispute with Portugal the navigation of the Indian Seas, their hopes were placed in being able to effect a passage round the north of Asia, the extent and boundaries of which were then very imperfectly understood. Their first enterprise led to the tragical catastrophe of Sir Hugh Willoughby; who, with his crew, were enclosed in the ice on the coast of Lapland, and perished;

but Chancellor, his companion, proceeding under happier auspices, entered the Bay of St Nicholas (the White Sea), and discovered Russia, an immense kingdom, the very existence of which was then unknown to Europe. Having made their way to Moscow, they were well received, and every facility afforded to the establishment of a commercial intercourse. Repeated expeditions then took place to the same quarter; in the course of which it transpired, that trade, which finds its way through every impediment, had forced a passage across savage and hostile regions; that there existed a regular communication from Moscow with Persia and Bokhara; from which last country caravans travelled across Asia to India and Cathay. The disposition of the English merchants was then such, as not to be intimidated by any obstacles which it appeared within the compass of human efforts to surmount. The immense tract of land, covered with such a variety of barbarous nations, did not discourage them from the attempt to open a commercial intercourse with central Asia. For this purpose they selected a very judicious person, Mr ANTHONY JENKINSON, who was attended by Richard and Robert Johnson, to act as assistants. They sailed to Russia in the summer of 1557; and having, in the course of the winter, made arrangements with the emperor, set out from Moscow

on the 23d April 1558. Taking their course westwards, they crossed the Oka, and reached "Nyse Novogrod," whence they proceeded along the Volga to "the worthy city of Cazan." A mighty revolution had now taken place in the political destinies of this region. The Tartars, who had overrun and trampled upon all the east of Europe, were yielding on every side to the arms of the Czar; and Cazan, formerly the capital of one of their great kingdoms, had lately been subdued and incorporated with the Russian empire. Its king was taken captive; but being young, was treated with lenity, and allowed to live at large in the Russian court. It happened, that, in this turbulent state, two of his predecessors had been dethroned and obliged to fly thither for refuge; so that three princes, "who had been emperours of the said Cazan," were then living unmolested, and even honoured, at Moscow. The inhabitants of the surrounding country, called Mardouits (Morduans), had been christened by right of conquest, but had made no change in their habits of life, and continued still "to lie in the woods and wilderness, without towne or habitation." Cazan, which had been formerly fortified only with earth and timber, was now, by the Russian monarch, surrounded with a fine wall of freestone.

Jenkinson, leaving the Kama on his left, proceeded down along the bank of the Volga, which he found occupied by the Nogay Tartars, of whom he gives an account nearly similar to that of Rubruquis. He describes their migratory habits, their tent-shaped houses laid upon carts, which would appear now to be driven by camels instead of oxen. They grow no corn, and mock at Christians, who, "living on the top of a weed," can never attain the growth and strength of that noble race, which subsists solely on horse flesh and mare's milk. In the heart of the wilderness he met a band of Nogays, having, "by estimation, above a thousand camels drawing of carts
" with houses upon them like tents, of a strange
" fashion, seeming to be afarre off a towne." At length he reached Astrakhan, the emporium of the Caspian, situated on an island near the mouth of the Volga. He gives a very poor description of this place, as walled about with earth, and defended by a castle, "neither fayre nor
" strong; the buildings and houses most base
" and simple." The country round produces neither grain, wood, nor pasture. The inhabitants subsist almost entirely upon fish, particularly sturgeon, which being hung out to dry, causes such abundance of flies "as the like was
" never seen in any land;" while the quantity of the fish left exposed and putrifying, renders the

air "most infected." While our traveller remained at Astrakhan, that place became the scene of a dreadful tragedy. The country of the Nogays laboured under the most extreme famine, so that they crowded into Astrakhan, offering themselves to the Russians, their deadly enemies, as subjects, and even as slaves, provided they could obtain the means of present sustenance. They met with little relief or pity; and "lay all the islands through in heapes dead, and like to beastes, unburyed, and very pittifull to beholde." Our traveller had a vast number of Tartar boys and girls offered to him for a sixpenny loaf a-piece; but, as matters stood, a loaf of good bread was of more consequence than any such merchandise. He certainly, however, goes too far in asserting, that, on this occasion, the whole race of Nogays was exterminated, and their country left desolate, "to the great contentation of the Russes," who had always found them troublesome neighbours.

Our author gives a very poor account of the trade of Astrakhan. He says, "there is a certain merchandise, but so small and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention." Merchants came thither indeed both from Russia and Persia with various commodities, "but in such small quantity, that it is not worth the writing; neither is there any hope of trade in these parts worth the following." As soon as possible,

therefore, he hired a boat and set sail. He entered the Caspian on the 10th August, and on the 19th found himself at the mouth of the Yaik. He found here neither trade nor money, the people being all "men of warre and pasturers, and "given much to theft and murther." One day, while Jenkinson lay indisposed in the cabin, he heard a party of thirty come on board, calling themselves gentlemen, and stating that they were in search of Christians, (whom they called Capphars), and against whom their designs seemed to be very deadly. Fortunately there were on board five Tartars, one of whom was a "holy man," who came forward and protested "by great oaths "of their law," that there was no person of that description on board. The *gentlemen*, after some hesitation, gave credit to his solemn asseverations, and departed. Jenkinson, delivered from this imminent danger, fervently expressed his gratitude to the holy man, for having perjured himself so stoutly.

Our traveller now sailed southwards, and endeavoured to reach a port called Mangoslaue (Minkislak); but a storm threw him on a flat and incommodious coast, where neither boat nor bark had been before. However, a messenger being sent on shore, returned with comfortable words and fair promises. Accordingly, having landed the merchandise and dismissed the boats, they

were “gently entertained” of the prince and people. These last, however, proved to be “bad and brutish,” and never ceased to molest them by fighting, stealing, or begging; nor could they obtain the camels and other requisites for their journey, unless at exorbitant prices. At length they collected a caravan of a thousand camels, but after travelling five days, were met by a body of Tartar horse, subjects of a prince called Timor Soltan, ruler of Mangoslaue. These troopers stopped them, and insisted upon a certain proportion of the goods for the use of their master; declining, at the same time, to give any thing in return. Much dissatisfied with this transaction, Jenkinson set out for the residence of the Soltan. He found that prince living in the open fields, in a house made of reeds and felt, without the least appearance of town or castle. He was seated “with the great metropolitane of this wilde country,” and with diverse other chiefs. He entertained “very gently” our traveller, and though unable to produce a morsel of bread, fed him plentifully with flesh and mare’s milk. Much curiosity was shewn respecting the laws, kingdoms, and religion of Europe, also concerning the motives of Jenkinson’s journey, and his “further pretence.” His demands were two,—security against being again robbed, and some price for what was already taken. The monarch pro-

fessed his extreme readiness to satisfy him as to both particulars, only declined paying in money, on the ground of not having a farthing in his possession. He gave, however, a horse and a letter, with which Jenkinson was fain to depart satisfied. He was afterwards assured that he had made a narrow escape from this prince, who was a "very tyrant," and, till softened by the gratification derived from the above visit, had given orders that the whole party should be robbed and destroyed.

Jenkinson now proceeded across that extensive and uncultivated plain, which reaches from the Caspian Sea to the Oxus. He asserts, on what authority is not stated, and we believe quite erroneously, that the latter river once fell into the Caspian, though it now discharged itself, by the channel of the Ardoch, into the lake of Kitay (Aral). The Tartars are described in the usual manner, as wandering from place to place, "living without towne or habitation, in the wilde fields," and subsisting entirely on their cattle. The sheep are large, with tails of sixty or eighty pounds weight. The ground produces no grass, but only "a certaine brush or heath, on which the cattle become very fat." The people have no art or science, but "live most idly, sitting round in great companies in the fieldes, devising and talking most vainely."

At the castle of Sellijure, our traveller visited

Azim Khan, the nominal sovereign of these immense wilds. He found his palace "built of earth very basely," but was cordially entertained, not with bread indeed, but with mare's milk and the flesh of a wild horse. The whole country between the Oxus and the Caspian, called the land of Turkeman, is subject to Azim Khan and his five brothers, who own his supremacy, but "every one will be king of his owne portion," so that Azim's power is small beyond his immediate vicinity. These august brethren wage the most deadly wars against each other; and Urghenz, the only considerable town in these parts, had been taken and retaken four times in three years, and thus reduced almost to ruins. This city is surrounded with walls of earth, about four miles in circuit. The houses are also of earth; and there is one long street covered above, in which the market is held. Poverty, however, was so general, that our traveller could not find any advantageous vent for his commodities.

Having passed a month at Urghenz, Jenkinson again set forward, and some days after passing a castle called Kait, overtook one night four horsemen, who being suspected as spies, were disarmed and bound. On a short examination, these personages owned that "there were rovers and thieves abroad," and that they had seen at no great distance the track of numerous horses; an

alarming circumstance, for as this was a country in which few "true and peaceable" persons travelled, unless in caravan, "horsefeeting newe" "without camels" was to be doubted." A message was therefore sent to the Sultan of Kait, who presently came in person, and by a strict examination of the suspected persons, brought them to confess that three days' journey off, a banished prince, with forty men, of whose company they themselves were part, lay in wait to rob and destroy the caravan. The Sultan then gave them an escort of eighty men, and returned. This party accompanied them for two days, during which Jenkinson, though sensible of the importance of their presence, felt deep dissatisfaction at the amount of victuals consumed by them. For three days, however, they ranged the wilderness in front of the caravan, till on the morning of the third they came in at full gallop, and gave notice that they had discovered the track of horses at no great distance. They then took advantage of the exigency to demand a price for their services which the caravan could not afford; on refusal of which they rode off to their prince, who was now suspected to be privy to the conspiracy. Several Tartars then, whom a visit to Mecca had converted into "holy men," began a solemn conjuration, by killing a sheep, reducing the bones to powder, and writing mystic charac-

ters with the blood. By these and other ceremonies they divined and found, that “we should
“meete with enemies and theeves;” a fact which it did not seem to require much witchery now to discover. They added, however, that they would overcome these rovers; an assurance very insufficient to dispel the apprehensions under which our author laboured. The first part of the prophecy was fulfilled in three hours, when a large body of horsemen, of the most unpromising aspect, were seen riding up at full speed. The caravan then mustered forty men in a condition to fight, and “wee made our prayers every one
“after his lawe.” The thieves, on coming up, proved to be thirty-seven in number, “well appointed with bowes, arrows, and swords. They
“willed us to yielde ourselves, or els to be slaine; “but we defied them, wherewith they shotte at
“us all at once, and wee at them very hotly.” Men, horses and camels, were killed and wounded on both sides; and Jenkinson suspects, had it not been for four hand-guns which he and his companions had, that the day would have gone entirely against them. They were thus, however, enabled to hold out, till night put an end to the encounter. Seizing this opportunity, the merchants
“made the fashion of a castle, walling it about
“with packes of wares.” The enemy, however, encamped within bow-shot, and had cut them

off from the water “to their great discomfort.” About midnight “the prince of the thieves” came half way to their encampment, and invited the caravan basha to a conference. The basha declined such close contact, but said, that if the prince would swear to keep the truce, he would send a man to confer with his messenger. “The prince swore so loude, that we might all heare;” upon which a holy man was immediately despatched. The messenger then said, that the prince did not desire their blood, and that if they would deliver up the Caphars or unbelievers, “meaning “us the Christians,” with all their goods, those of the true faith might pass unmolested. The caravan basha, however, remained true to those whom he had taken under his protection; he even told a lie in their favour, pretending they were Turks; but added, that had it been otherwise, he would rather die than deliver them. The thieves then, contrary to promise, carried the holy man before their prince, at the same time setting up a loud cry “*ollo, ollo!*” in token of victory. Jenkinson was now “much discomforted,” fearing that matters would go ill, and that the holy man would betray them. The holy man, however, behaved in the most heroic manner, and though treated with the utmost severity, “would not to death confesse any thing which was to “us prejudicial.” As morning now dawned,

preparations were making to renew the action, when the thieves sent in a proposal ; and “ to be briefe, the most part of our companie being loath to go to battel againe,” it was thought safest to accede to it. The proposed terms were, that they should receive nine times twenty things, seemingly without any specification what the nature of the things was to be. The caravan does not seem to have selected them of very large dimensions, as one camel was found sufficient to carry the whole, which camel was added to the donation. The thieves then departed into the wilderness, and the caravan that night reached the Oxus, where they obtained water, and “ made merrie with their slain horses and camels.” In hopes of escaping similar adventures, they now quitted the Oxus, and struck into a “ wilderness of sand,” but this proved a most unfortunate measure. They suffered severely from the want of provisions and water, and were, moreover, alarmed by a new body of thieves, who carried off several stragglers, and obliged the whole caravan to break up precipitately at midnight. They made haste, therefore, to regain the Oxus, which they found to serve instead of a wall.

On the 23d December, the caravan arrived at Boghar (Bokhara). Jenkinson describes it as a very great city, the walls and houses built mostly of earth, yet “ many houses, temples, and monu-

“ments handsomely built of stone.” The baths in particular were so fine, “that the like thereof “is not in the world.” Two parts of the city were considered to be the king’s, while the third is “for merchants and markets, and every science “hath their dwelling and market by themselves.” The metropolitan is of power equal or superior to the king; and indeed he had put to death the last monarch, and raised the present one to the throne. The Mahometan law is enforced with awful rigour; officers are appointed, who may search every man’s house for wine or aquavitæ, and on finding them, inflict most severe punishments. The Bokharans, formerly subject to Persia, now carry on the most cruel religious war against that country, chiefly “for that the Persians will not cut the haire off their upper “lippes,” for which reason they were, equally as the Christians, branded with the opprobrious names of Caphars or unbelievers.

The king of Boghar is poor, enjoying scarcely any revenue besides what he can extort from the merchants; and however limited his power in other respects, here it seems quite arbitrary. Besides exacting a regular tenth of all goods sold, “when he lacketh money, hee sendeth his “officers to the shoppes, to take their wares, and “will have credit of force.” To serve his own purposes likewise, he alters the value of the coin

every other month, and sometimes twice in a month, “to the great destruction of the countrey
“and merchants.” Yet he entertained Jenkinson
“most gently, devised with him familiarly in his
“secret chamber,” made many inquiries concerning the Turks and princes of Europe, and amused himself with viewing and learning the use of the musket. On learning the adventure of the thieves of the desert, he despatched a hundred men, who having come up with these marauders, defeated them with great loss, and recovered the goods, part of which were restored to Jenkinson. Four being taken prisoners, were hanged at the palace gate, by way of example, “because they
“were gentlemen.” Notwithstanding these good deeds, this prince proved in the end “a very
“Tartar ;” for after taking a large quantity of goods, he left the city with mere promises of payment ; and Jenkinson could obtain only part, not in money, but in goods that were scarcely saleable. As he was negotiating for better treatment, the metropolitan gave him notice that the king of Samarcand was approaching with an army to besiege the city ; for which reason it was high time for him to take his departure. After some hesitation, Jenkinson chose to take the hint ; on which he found reason to congratulate himself, having learned soon after that Bokhara was closely invested.

Jenkinson set out on the 8th March 1559, with a caravan of 600 camels, having charge of six ambassadors. They narrowly escaped in the desert an attack from 400 rovers, "who were kindred to the former company of thieves." At the Caspian they found their boat, but neither anchor, cable, cask, nor sail. However they had hemp, with which they spun a cable, made a sail of cotton cloth, and were about to form a cart-wheel into an anchor, when they had an opportunity of purchasing one. On the voyage, they were overtaken with a "sore storm;" the cable of their own spinning broke, the anchor was lost, and they felt the utmost dread of either being lost or falling into the hands of "the people of that country, who live wildly in the field like beasts." At length they succeeded in running her into an oozy creek, where she was refitted with much difficulty; but they had more storms to encounter, and were driven far out to sea, before they could reach Astrakhan. Our author boasts of having been the first that had displayed the red cross of St George on the Caspian.

In regard to the trade of all this part of Asia, Jenkinson sums it up in the following unfavourable terms: "Little utterance, and little profit." Merchants indeed from Russia, Persia, Balkh, and India, resorted to Bokhara, but they brought few commodities, and took still fewer. Woollen

cloths, particularly kerseys, were his staple, and were offered on every occasion, but were treated always with the coldest indifference. The Indian merchants brought "fine whites;" but all the more brilliant articles, gold, silver, precious stones, and spices, went through the hands of the Portuguese. These merchants carried away hides, slaves, and horses, "but of carseis and other cloth they make little accompt." The Persians also brought various woollen, linen, and silk manufactures, and took away hides and slaves, "but cloth they will buy none." Jenkinson even, on producing his kerseys, was much dismayed when they drew forth other kerseys, which they offered to sell to him, as good and as cheap as his own. These it seems had come to them by way of Aleppo. The communication with Cathay (China) was intercepted by dreadful wars, which raged in the intervening countries. The trade from Astrakhan into Persia was equally poor with that to Bokhara, and kerseys held, if possible, in greater disdain. "The few ships, the povertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught." Jenkinson proceeded, therefore, to "the Musko," where being introduced into the emperor's presence, he kissed his hand, and presented him with "a white cowe's tail of Cathay, and a drumme of Tartaria," both which were graciously accepted. He then

brought before him all his ambassadors, and next day dined in his majesty's presence, who sent him meat by a duke. From Moscow he proceeded to Colmogro, where he closes his epistle, and waits the further orders of his employers.

The observations made during this journey afforded miserable encouragement to attempt any further trade by the Bokharian channel. The English merchants, however, still anxious to persevere in their original design, determined to make trial of Persia, although Jenkinson had not held out, even as to it, any flattering expectations. They procured a letter from the Queen, written in Latin, Hebrew, and Italian, and fitted out a good ship, the *Swallow*, in which, besides kerseys and scarlet, they placed cloth of gold, plate, sapphires, and other jewels. On the 14th July 1561, Jenkinson arrived at the port of St Nicholas (Archangel), which was still the channel of communication between England and Russia. He proceeded there by the way of Wologda "to the citie of Moscovia," where he arrived on the 20th of August. He immediately caused his arrival to be notified to the emperor, but that prince was busied in great affairs, being "ready to be married unto a lady of Chircassi, of the Mahometicall law;" on which occasion he had ordered the gates of the city to be shut, and that no one, except his own household, should

stir out of his house for three days, "the cause thereof unto this day not being knowne." On the 1st of September there was a great festival, to which Jenkinson was not admitted, in consequence of having refused to deliver the letters into any but his majesty's hand, while the secretary insisted on being first admitted to peruse them. Jenkinson learned, however, that his absence was noticed and wondered at by the emperor. He found means, therefore, to transmit to that monarch a representation of his right to deliver in person the queen's letter, "as his letters, sent by Osepp Napeya, were received by the hands of our late sovereigne lady Queene Mary." Accordingly, "the matter being pondered, and my supplication well digested," he was admitted to the audience demanded. On stating, however, his request to be allowed to proceed across the Caspian, it was answered, that the emperor was about to engage in war with the Circassians, which would render the road both difficult and dangerous, and "that if I should perish therein, it would be much to his grace's dishonour." This answer neither suiting his expectation, nor yet contentation," appears to have arisen chiefly from the influence of the hostile secretary; for after he had been detained a long time, and was about to take his departure, Osepp Napeya, the late ambassador to England,

made so strong a representation as obtained the emperor's permission for Jenkinson to proceed. He reached Astrakhan on the 15th July 1562, and set sail on the 18th. After sailing some days, they came upon a coast "where pirats and rovers
"doe use; for feare of whom we haled off into
"the sea." This led them, however, upon shallows, where they had nearly struck; and soon after were assailed for seven days by so violent a tempest, that their utmost efforts were scarcely sufficient to pump out the water, and prevent the bark from sinking: thus they were "in great
"danger, like to have perished, either in the sea
"or els upon the lee shore, where we should
"have fallen into the handes of those wicked infidels." However, "onely by the power and
"mercy of God," they reached a land called Shyrvansha (Schirvan), and landed at Derbent. Jenkinson proceeded thence to Schamachie, the residence of Obdolowcan, the king, but learned that he had resorted, for the sake of coolness, to a camp among the mountains, at twenty miles distance. Here they found him "in a very rich
"pavillion, on a hill side, having before him a
"goodly fountain of faire water: a prince of a
"meane stature, and of a fierce countenance,
"richly appavelled with long garments of silke
"and cloth of golde, embroidered with pearlls
"and stone." He received them "most gently,"

caused them to sit down, and seeing that a cross-legged position was painful to them, caused a stool to be brought. At the hour of dinner “diners cloths were spread upon the ground, and sundry dishes served, to the number of a hundred and forty dishes, as I numbered them.” These were followed by a dessert of a hundred and fifty, so that the two together amounted to two hundred and ninety dishes. The king then said *Quoshe quelde*, which means *welcome*, and which Jenkinson answered “in such sort that he was contented therewith.” He then declared the object of his journey, as being to open a trade for the benefit of both countries, when the king, “much allowing this declaration,” assured him not only of a full license, but of a safe escort for his journey to Casbin.

Our author now proposes “to write something of this country of Hyrcan, now called Shyrvan.” It had formerly been “of great renowne, able to make warres with the Sophies of Persia ;” but now it was completely subjected by those princes, who had rased all the fortifications, and put to death all the nobility and gentry ; and moreover, “for theyr great terror caused a turret of freestone and flints to be erected in the said citie called Shamakye, and in a ranke of flints of the said turret, did set the heads of the said nobility and gentlemen.” However,

“there be divers good and necessary commodities to be provided and had in this realme,” particularly galls, cotton, alum, and raw silk, besides drugs and spices brought from India.

The expedition now left Schamachie, and proceeded by Yavate (Zawat), Ordowill (Ardebil), and Tauris, to Casbin, which they reached on the 2d November. They were informed, that “there were great affairis on hand,” and that his majesty could not see them for some days. It was the 20th before they obtained an audience. Before entering, they were made to exchange their shoes for Persian slippers, that the floor might, as little as possible, be polluted by unbelieving feet. The sophi asked of what country of Franks they were, and what was their business? “I answered, that I was of the famous citie of London, within the noble realm of England,” and stated the objects of his journey. The sophi complaining that he had no one who understood the letters, “I answered, that such a famous and woorthie prince as he was, wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interpret the same.” The sophi then asked, if he was a Gower? and Jenkinson answering, that he was a Christian, the sophi asked the meaning of the term; on learning which, he exclaimed: “Oh, thou unbeliever! we have no need to have friendship with the unbelievers; and so willed

“us to depart.” This does not, however, appear to have been said in a tone which precluded all hopes of his majesty’s favour. Jenkinson placed his main hope in the exposition of the deadly enmity which reigned between his nation and that of the Turks, who had long been at war with Persia, and who yet, through the Venetians, exclusively supplied that country with European commodities. He shewed, that if the government would give him and his countrymen due encouragement, they might shake off this dependence on their mortal enemy, and might find both a supply of those commodities, and a vent for their own, “although
“there never came Turke into their land.” As soon as Jenkinson had fully satisfied the court as to the deadly enmity borne to him by the Ottomans, the business transpired in which the king had been so deeply engaged. The Great Turk had sent an ambassador, with presents of horses, gold, and gems, valued at forty thousand pounds, proposing a treaty, not only of peace, but of the closest amity, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies. The sophi, who had been hard pressed, and had suffered considerable loss in the war with this potentate, most gladly accepted the overture; and “it was concluded with joyfull feastes, triumphs, and solemnities, corroborated with strong othes, by

“their law of Alkoran.” There happened to be at Casbin a young Turkish prince of great valour and accomplishments, who having quarrelled with his father, had come over to Persia, and resided at the court for four years. The sophi, farther to cement his new alliance, caused this youth’s head to be cut off and delivered to the ambassador, “for a present not a little desired and acceptable to the unnatural father.” Nothing was now considered at this court, but what might be most agreeable to the Great Turk. It was therefore suggested, that nothing could be more so, than to deliver into his hands the persons to whom, according to their own statement, he bore so deadly an enmity. The king, delighted with the idea, ordered it to be instantly acted upon. Whether they were to be rendered more portable by decapitation, is not precisely said; but there could be little doubt, at some stage or other, of their undergoing such a process. In this dreadful crisis, there happened most fortunately to be at court a son of their steady friend Obdolowcan, who being a favourite of the sophi, ventured to intercede for them. He represented to the monarch, that such conduct “would not stand with his majestie’s honour;” and “if he used me evill, there would few strangers resort into his country,” with other arguments, which, “after the said sophi had well

“and thoroughly pondered, he changed his determined purpose.” He even gave them a trifling present, with permission to depart; whereof the English availed themselves with all speed, too happy to exchange their brilliant prospects of favour and commerce for the comfort of having their heads upon their shoulders.

Though the issue of this mission of Jenkinson had been so miserable, he conceived yet a favourable opinion of the trade which might have been carried on under happier auspices. He says, “At the said city of Casbin divers merchants out of India came thither with me, with whom I conferred for a trade of spices; whereunto they answered, that they would bring of all sorts so much as wee would have, if they were sure of vent.” The indefatigable Company, therefore, fitted out a new adventure, which was sent under Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and RICHARD CHEINIE, to the last of whom we are indebted for the only relation on the subject. They arrived at Schamachie, where they were received with the usual favour, and Alcocke proceeded to Casbin. Here, again, an unforeseen event traversed their hopes. The chief Russian merchant having slain a *Boserman* or renegado, the king was highly incensed, and withdrew his favour from all Europeans. Alcocke was therefore obliged to leave Casbin; and, on his way

to Schamachie, was murdered, either by some great man whom he had pressed too hard for his debts, by common robbers, or by some fanatic Mussulman. When this sad intelligence arrived at Schamachie, "your worships had no other servant there but mee among these heathen people." Obdolowcan inquired anxiously if Alcocke had left a brother? "Some saide I was, some saide I was not his brother;" but no mention is made what part he himself took in the controversy. Thinking it, however, time for him to be gone, he hastily called in his debts, to the amount of about fifteen hundred roubles, and got his goods conveyed down to the sea side, whence they were brought back in safety to Russia. He concludes in a somewhat querulous tone, saying, "I have travailed by land and by water, full many a time, with a sorrowful heart;" and seems to hint that he had not received the due reward of his toils. "I have sowed the seede, and other men have gathered the harvest;" but he does not specify more precisely to what these complaints allude.

The failure of this expedition being still imputed to accident, did not exhaust the perseverance of the London Company. In 1565 they sent Richard Johnson, Arthur Edwards, and Alexander Kitchen. EDWARDS is the narrator, and though he admits that little was done, he holds out toler-

able hopes. Their old and steady friend Obdowcan was dead, but had been succeeded by his son, who was considered equally friendly. There had been great revolutions in this province, and many who had formerly been the leading persons there, were now either in prison or "pinched by the purse," so that they could no longer make good customers. He rather recommends to place their head-quarters at Ghilan, the king of which lived by trade, and whence an easy communication might be opened to Tauris, Ardebil, and other great cities in the interior. He says, "God sent me friends, who were always about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell." He hopes, therefore, that "they shall be better beloved when they shall be more knowen," and that in a year or two he may establish a regular trade. Upon these promises, Edwards, having returned to Russia, was sent out in 1568 at the head of a new body of agents. Their proceedings are narrated by LAURENCE CHAPMAN, whose epistle wears a much gloomier aspect. In Ghilan, concerning which Edwards had held out such brilliant hopes, they found "the townes so spoyled, and the people so robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karsie." At Casbin, he says, "I found no manner of sales of any commodity made, but all lying there whole." Such a quantity of cloths had been poured in by the way of

Aleppo, that it was impossible to sell, unless at the most reduced prices. He complains also, "Such is the constancy of all men in this country, if a ware be bought, and they do mislike it afterwards, they will bring it againe and compel you to deliver the money for it againe, regarding the Shaugh's letters, which manifesteth the contrary, as a straw in the winde." He repeatedly hints, that if the sole management of affairs had been in his hand, he might have conducted them to better advantage; but does not, on the whole, hold out any great prospect of benefit to the Company, far less to their agents. "To travel in this country," says he, "is miserable and uncomfortable, for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night cometh; besides the great danger we stand in for robbing by these infidels, who do account it remission of sinnes to wash their hands in the blood of one of us. Better it is, therefore, in mine opinion, to continue a beggar in England."

Nothing could shake the determination of the Company. In 1579 they sent CHRISTOPHER BURROUGH with a new expedition. He found Derbent and all Schirvan in possession of the Turks, who, by the aid of the Krim Tartars, had wrested it from Persia. He was tolerably received by the Basha, but found little sale for his goods, and durst not attempt proceeding to any Persian port.

In returning, they were entangled in ice, and had nearly perished with hunger. So far as I know, this was the dying effort of the Company to effect their favourite object of opening a trade with central Asia.

I SHALL now introduce a narrative which may probably be new to the reader, being that of Don PEDRO CUBERO, a Spaniard, who assumes the title of Apostolical Preacher of Asia, and who boasts of being the first of his countrymen who travelled into these regions.

Cubero set out from Moscow with a Russian ambassador, who was on a mission to the court of Persia. He gives a very minute topographical account of the cities and rivers through which he passed, remarking, that this route was left blank in all the Spanish maps. After passing Saratoff, he found the shore of the Volga inhabited by a nation living in caves, and whose ferocity, with their hair resembling that of cattle, left it in doubt whether they were beasts or men. They were called Pas Kyrios (Baschkirs?), and when any unhappy victim fell into their hands, they without delay opened "his side, and drank his blood." On the shores of the same river he found Mardoas (Mordvans), a people "living "like beasts in the woods and groves, without "knowledge of God or religion," but whose

manners were mild and affable. The only religious ceremony he observed was at death, when they killed a horse, and put its body within the grave, fastening the head to the top. He came next to the Calamucos (Kalmucks), whom he describes as the most unjust and wicked of all those nations, and at the same time the bravest in war. They have neither house, choza, nor tent, but expose themselves without dread to all the inclemencies of the air, rain, snow, ice, and storms. Their only precaution is, in winter, to sail down the rivers, and establish themselves on the borders of Armenia and Persia.

At length the party arrived at Astrakhan, which appeared to our author a place of great trade. He gives the same account as Jenkinson of the immense quantity and variety of fish here caught and hung up to dry; and equally considers this as the cause of the great insalubrity of the air. He set sail on the Caspian with much fear, being informed that it was the most tempestuous sea in the world. He was struck by the view of the immense and steep cliffs with which its shores were begirt; it was salt like the ocean, and had the same sea-green colour as the Gulf of Leon. Its tempestuous character appeared by the height of the waves, even when there was scarcely a breeze blowing; but when a high wind arose, they became like mountains, and though

the bark was of considerable size, swept over its top-mast. The night coming on, with tempests of snow, was spent in preparing for death, till towards dawn the storm subsided, and they were enabled to reach Derbent. Here they were detained fifteen days, till permission to proceed was received from the governor of the province, who resided at Chama Ke (Schamachie). This time was spent in hiring camels. They were much struck by seeing one which had been bit by a serpent, die in twenty-four hours, furious and foaming at the mouth; and after death every part of the body went to pieces. They were told that the wound must have been given by a small animal, which lay hid in the grass, and did no injury unless when touched; that the camel must have trod upon it, and thus excited it to action. They passed to Chama Ke through a rocky and mountainous country, traversed by rapid torrents, often dangerous to cross. Chama Ke was found a fine city, situated in a fertile country; but a great part of it had lately been ruined by an earthquake. There remained, however, many handsome tents, richly supplied with silks and other cloths, the manufacture of Persia. In due time they received permission to proceed. Three leagues from the city they found a large river, of which he forgets the name, but over which there was no bridge. They had thus to

wait three days till one of earth and stakes could be erected, and even then it was made so imperfectly, that two camels, laden with the most valuable presents for the Sophi, tumbled in ; luckily the boxes were saved, without the water having reached the valuable furs contained in them. They next reached Ordivil, a beautiful city of Armenia Minor, situated in a fine plain. Here they were detained by the illness of the ambassador, who was seized with a violent sore throat, and a burning heat through his whole frame ; a complaint, the origin of which was judged very unaccountable by himself and his attendants. In Cubero's eyes there was nothing mysterious. He saw a most adequate cause in the enormous quantities of ardent spirits which his excellency continued to swallow, without the least consideration of having passed from a frozen climate to one in which the very air was on fire. As the ambassador, however, turned a deaf ear against all hints to the prejudice of his adored beverage, he became daily worse, and was soon judged at the point of death. Then it would appear he made such a change of regimen, as enabled him gradually to recover. A new delay then arose : The embassy was accompanied by one of the Czar's huntsmen, carrying a present of hawks to the Sophi. The ambassador maintained that that personage was entirely subordinate to him, and sub-

ject to his jurisdiction ; while the falconer contended that his functions were entirely equal and independent. The whole party ranging themselves on the side either of the ambassador or the bird-catcher, the dispute rose to a violent height, and deadly weapons were on the point of being drawn, when our traveller and the Persian envoy rushed in between, and at last succeeded in pacifying them.

All these impediments being surmounted, the embassy set forward, and in a few days reached Casmin, the present residence of the Sophi. Their appearance, it is said, caused much joy and confusion in the city, and the inhabitants rushed in immense numbers to see them. They were lodged in the houses of Armenian Christians, and, after resting three days, were informed that the following day had been fixed by the Sophi for their reception. They were attended by many Persian lords, handsomely mounted, and were instructed to hold their letters up in their hands, so as to be seen by all the people. As they rode through the streets, they were saluted with cries of joy and welcome. The letters were the object of peculiar veneration, every one bowing their heads to them, and some so low as to touch the ground. The street where the palace was situated was very broad, and bordered by fine trees on each side. When they reached the outer gate, they found a

piece of timber laid across, which they were solemnly admonished on no account to touch. They were then ushered into a magnificent hall, hung with cloths of silk and gold, the bearers of the presents marching in front. From the hall they entered a small apartment, the opposite door of which being open, shewed them, at forty or fifty paces distance, the great Sophi sitting in state. He appeared a man about thirty-six years old, with fine black eyes, white hair, and a black beard hanging to the middle of his breast. The Grand Vizir then called out, Here comes the *Chi Franque* (European ambassador). When Cubero and the Russian ambassador entered the last door, two Persian lords took each of them under the arm, and laid them flat on their faces, making their foreheads touch the ground ; to which operation, though quite unexpected, they made no opposition. They got up, however, with all speed ; but, after marching ten or twelve paces farther, were again laid prostrate. On getting up from this second reverence, they were allowed to approach the Sophi, and delivered their letters. These were courteously received, and, after several questions put by the monarch relating to their journey, they took leave with the same marks of veneration as they had been made to exhibit on entering. They were then conducted into a large open space enclosed with trees, which was

immediately covered with the richest carpets, and a splendid feast brought in, intended to display the magnificence of the Sophi. The monarch himself sat at table surrounded with such a number of his lords, as to make the guests altogether amount to two hundred and eighty-four. There was no table, but the dishes, which were of pure gold, were all placed upon the floor. The cookery was not agreeable to our author; and the Persian court had now arrived at such a measure of Mahometan decorum, as not publicly to produce wine, its place being supplied by various species of waters. As they sat at table, various animals, particularly horses and camels of the finest species, were led along in state, covered with silk cloth bordered with gold and jewels. Cubero then saw them parading with peculiar pride a jack-ass, caparisoned in the most superb manner, as if it had been the pride of Andalusian steeds. This exhibition proved too much even for the gravity of our Spaniard, who presently burst into an ungovernable fit of laughter. Being asked the reason of this uncourteous mirth, he could only reply, that the animal in question, however deserving of esteem, was in Europe so extremely common, as seldom to be treated with so much honour. The ceremony concluded, according to the custom of the East, with bringing out magnificent robes, and putting them upon the ambassador and Cubero.

Our traveller, at leaving Casmin, did not return to Europe by the same road, but proceeded by Ispahan and Schiras to Ormus. As we shall, however, have repeated occasion to travel this route, we shall not take him for our guide. He sailed by Damayn and Surat to Goa. He found this capital of Portuguese India in a state of miserable decay, and its trade almost gone, since "the perfidious heretics," English, Dutch, Swedes, and Danes, had, "for our sins" carried off almost the whole. The city, however, contained still many magnificent edifices, and its vicinity appeared, with the exception of Ceylon, the most beautiful in the East. From Goa he sailed round to St Thomas or Madraspatan. This town, from being one of the richest and most powerful in the East, had now scarcely a stone left upon another. The king of Golconda, after taking it from the French, had been instigated by the Dutch to destroy it; the object of these "wicked heretics" being, as our author suspects, to destroy the many fine catholic churches which the city contained. The English, however, had already a settlement, governed by one "Guillermo," who was reported to be a natural son of the king of England: he was a youth of twenty-six, "very comely in body and face, as the English are," and though a heretic, cherished no enmity to Catholics. Passing to the great pagoda of Juggernaut, he was

struck by the display of Indian penances there made. He saw some with their arms constantly lifted up in the air, others with nails more than a yard long, some constantly stretched on the ground without ever rising ; with various similar superstitious observances. His horror, however, is tempered with admiration, and he declares, that if these works were done for God instead of the devil, they would gain heaven without all manner of doubt. Soon, however, his attention was drawn by the triumphal car of the deity, which was rolling along the street. It moved on six great wheels, was painted with various figures, and exhibited a head more frightful than that of Medea. As it moved along, the crowds which danced around it, their cries, and the sound of innumerable instruments, caused such a din, that he almost imagined himself in hell. But what was his astonishment, when he saw numbers throwing themselves down, and allowing the wheels to pass over them, while the multitude, lifting them up, kissed and adored them as holy things. He was so shocked, that he immediately went off, and pursued his journey. In the English territories he met with greater indulgence, and found himself pretty comfortable, till happening to be in a great company of Moors, and the conversation falling upon Mahomet, our author declared he was “ a drunken dog ;” which raised so fearful

a tumult, that the governor thought it necessary to give Cubero a hint to depart with all speed out of the territory. He went next to Malacca, then one of the principal Dutch settlements. He was here made to understand, that there would be no objection to his celebrating the rites of his religion privately, but that there must be no public exhibition of them. He was seized, however, with the deepest indignation, to see the Chinese, in the public streets, “making their horrible and abominable sacrifices to their diabolical idols,” while the public service of the Mass was not permitted by persons who called themselves Christians. He expressed himself with warmth on this subject to several of the Dutch inhabitants, but never could obtain any answer than this: “The mighty States of Holland so ordain it.” At last, however, he was thrown entirely off his guard. Entering into a place filled with Chinese idols, painted in various colours, he saw one, in particular, carved in the form of a rhinoceros, which they were leading as to drink; whereupon, having a cane in his hand, he ran up and struck it on the head, calling out, in a tone of mockery, “Drink!” The Heathens then raised a frightful uproar, and complained to the governor, that they could no longer perform their ceremonies without the danger of ironical intrusion from this stranger. The gover-

nor immediately caused Cubero to be apprehended and thrown into prison. On investigation, he was found to have violated the regulations of government in many respects, and was treated with such severity, that he expected, at one time, to have his head cut off; however, they ended with merely fining and banishing him from the city. He took ship for Manilla, whence he crossed the Pacific in the galleon to Mexico, and reached Europe by that channel, after making thus the circuit of the globe.

Russia, buried in ignorance and barbarism, in no degree shared that zeal for discovery which had been so strong through the other nations of Europe; and viewing the Tartars with habitual dread and hostility, she made no attempt to penetrate their territory, either by conquest or commerce. An entire change, however, took place under the all-improving genius of Peter. Although the views of that prince were chiefly directed towards Siberia, he did not forget the vast regions extending from the Caspian to India. He was first caught by the usual bait of gold, which was reported to be brought in great quantities down the Daria, a river which falls into the south-eastern coast of the Caspian. He despatched, therefore, in 1717, an expedition of three thousand men, under ALEXANDER BECKEWITZ,

the son of a Circassian prince, who had attached himself to the Russian service. Beckewitz began by erecting a fort at the mouth of the river, preparatory to ascending it. The natives, who were Uzbek Tartars, collected in considerable numbers, but instead of making the opposition that was expected, supplied provisions, and afforded every assistance in their power. They shewed equal promptitude in pointing out the way to the mines, but observed, that the route by water was difficult and circuitous, and offered to guide him a much shorter way by land. Beckewitz agreed, and was led with his party for seven days through a desert, in which they suffered considerably from hardship and want of water. They then came to a large camp, commanded by the Khan of the Uzbeks. The view of this caused some apprehension; but the Khan received them in the most cordial manner. He assured them that they were quite welcome to all the gold and silver they could find in his dominions, those metals being of no use to him or his subjects, who lived on the produce of their herds, and wandered continually from place to place. He then proposed, for better refreshment after their fatigues, that they should be cantoned in the neighbouring districts, as there was not sufficient accommodation on any one spot. Beckewitz's officers advised him not to consent to this proposal; but the behaviour of the

Khan bore such a stamp of candour and friendship, that he saw no room for refusal. The distribution was then made, and Beckewitz with his officers were invited to a splendid entertainment in the sovereign's tent. At midnight, in the height of their festivity, the door was opened, and a Tartar said, "Your orders are executed." The Khan then turned to Beckewitz, and after reproaching him with this attempt to occupy a country which did not belong to him, told him, that of his whole party not a Russian was now alive, except those present; and that his turn was come. A scarlet cloth was then spread on the floor, on which he was desired to kneel, that his head might be struck off. The unhappy Beckewitz struggling, and vainly invoking heaven as witness of violated faith, the Tartars fell upon him with their scimitars, and cut him to pieces. The rest soon shared the same fate; and the destruction was so total, that it was long before tidings reached the court of Russia. At length one of the officers, who had been kept by his host and sold as a slave, passed from hand to hand till he reached Astrakhan, and communicated the fatal intelligence.

After this disaster, Peter made no further attempt to reach the mines of interior Tartary. In 1723, however, he employed PETER HENRY BRUCE, an active officer, to make a survey of the

Caspian, particularly of its eastern shore. Bruce sailed along this shore till he came to Jaick, a strong town, built at the mouth of a river of the same name, (called also Oural). He then surveyed the Gulf of Iskander, which appeared to him capable of making an excellent harbour, and the isthmus at its mouth might be strongly fortified. He saw many small rivers descending from the mountains, but could not learn their names; as, whenever he landed, a body of Turkumanians, who were on the watch, let fly a volley of arrows. This was answered by musketry, reinforced by a great gun from the vessel, which induced a speedy retreat; but as large bodies of Tartars followed all their movements, no object could be gained by landing. Ninety versts beyond, they came to a great river, which he calls the Oxus, and describes as large and rapid, about a musket-shot in breadth. Beyond it he found the Uzbecks, who watched his motions with still more numerous bodies; nor could he obtain even water, unless by the help of great guns. The next river was the Daria, distinguished by the catastrophe of Beckewitz. Here the Tartars appeared in great numbers, and in a very formidable attitude. In sixty versts more the Russians came to the Ossa, or Orxantes, another great river, separating Uzbek Tartary from Persia. They now bid adieu to the Tartar escort which had hitherto so

closely accompanied them. Landing at Minkislack, they saw houses, which they had not seen since leaving Jaick, and were received with kindness. After passing Astrabat, a fortified city of great trade, they had a delightful sail along the shores of Mazanderan and Ghilan, which were highly peopled, covered with plantations of mulberry, and watered by numerous rivers. This shore, however, has been often described.

After the abortive efforts of Jenkinson, and his immediate successors, the zeal of the English to open a trade with the regions on the Caspian appears to have sensibly cooled. The active and creative reign of Peter the Great again made Russia an object of attention, and that prince, sensible of the deficiency of his own subjects in commercial enterprise, was rather disposed to encourage a transit trade between England and Persia. This encouragement was continued by his successors; yet so great were the obstacles, that it would not probably have led to any result, but for the daring and enthusiastic genius of Mr JOHN ELTON. This person had been employed by the Russian government to make surveys of its south-eastern frontier, and had thus acquired extensive knowledge of the trade carried on across the Caspian and Bokhara. Happening to differ with the Russian government, and to leave its

service, he formed a connexion at St Petersburg with a young Scotsman, named Mungo Græme; and the two, joining their stocks, were enabled to make up a small assortment of goods for the market of interior Asia. They conveyed them to Saratoff in waggons, living by the way on the game with which the country abounded, and lodging at night in *zamoras*, or cottages built by government for the accommodation of travellers. At Saratoff they purchased a vessel, the dimensions of which may be conjectured, by its costing not quite six shillings; and in it they deposited their cargo. This frail bark had many perils to encounter, on a shore beset with robbers and pirates; however, after much toil and fear, they arrived at Astrakhan. They began eagerly to inquire of the Armenian merchants the state of the markets in central Asia; but these persons, little relishing any new rivals in trade, drew the most gloomy picture. According to them, freedom of trade no longer existed in Persia; every thing must be sold to the Schah's son, and bought of him, and at his own price. The adventurers then proposing to proceed overland to Bokhara, were assured that the consequence would be, that all their goods would be plundered, and themselves taken as slaves; that the Khan indeed would readily grant them an escort, but would himself send a stronger body to waylay and overpower it.

These last perils appearing the most formidable, they resolved, after much perplexity, to sail direct for Reshd, on the southern coast of the Caspian. They landed, and endeavoured at first to dispose of their goods in a private manner; but their Armenian friends lost no time in publishing on all sides the news of their arrival. It was then necessary to apply to the Mustapha, or deputy-governor, in whom, to their agreeable surprise, they found the most friendly disposition. He told them that the Schah's son was every way disposed to encourage trade; and that upon repairing to the Vizier, who resided at fifty miles' distance, he had no doubt of their meeting with every satisfaction. The Vizier accordingly received them most courteously, treated them with tea, coffee, and sweetmeats, and advised them either to wait upon the Schah's son, who was then at Mesched, or to forward a petition to him, which, if at all reasonable, he had no doubt would be at once granted. They preferred sending the petition, which referred not only to their own cargo, but to the general trade of the English on the Caspian. They were kept somewhat long in anxious suspense; but at length the prince's answer arrived, by which all their demands were liberally granted. It was accompanied with a present of fifty crowns, which was not flattering, either as to shape or amount; but they after-

wards learned, that a handsome gold repeating watch which they sent, had been diverted by the messenger to his own use, and a shabby silver one presented in its stead.

Notwithstanding this last awkward circumstance, the general result of the affair was so agreeable and promising, that Elton returned to Petersburg full of the most sanguine hopes. He presented a long memorial to the British minister, representing the immense benefits which might be derived to the British nation from this opening. Not only might the whole Persian empire be supplied with British cloths, which now reached it circuitously, and in small quantity ; but Mesched, the present residence of the court, was frequented by caravans at once from Bokhara and from the more distant countries of Thibet and Tangut, regions which contained many great and populous cities, while even their uncultivated plains were covered with millions of inhabitants. The minister, dazzled by this pompous memorial, immediately transmitted it to the government at home, where it excited that strong sensation which is always raised by the hope of opening a new channel to British commerce. The hopes of the nation rose to an enthusiastic pitch, and the only objection made, came from the Turkey and East India Companies, alarmed lest their trade should be ruined by this competition.

This opposition was overruled, and an act was passed permitting and encouraging the importation of raw silk, and other Persian commodities, by the way of Russia. Large consignments were immediately sent to St Petersburg, and chiefly entrusted to the care of Elton. That person immediately proceeded to Astrakhan, and embarked on board a vessel navigated by Captain Woodroffe, under his direction. Sailing across the Caspian, they were obliged to water at Meschedizar, a town situated on the south shore. Here they were stopped on suspicion of being pirates, and carried to Meschedizar; but their real character being discovered, they were treated with every mark of hospitality. They then sailed for Langarood bay, the port of Reshd, where they agreed, at the request of the Persian government, to carry rice to Derbend, for provisioning the army employed against the Lesghis. Here Captain Woodroffe met with a very unlooked-for reception. Being sent for to Hussein Ali Beg, the receiver of provisions, he went expecting some question to be put to him relative to the rice, when under the direction of that officer a number of men began beating him with sticks in the most unmerciful manner. When they had knocked him down, one of them sat upon his head, squeezing his face into the sand, while the rest continued to belabour his back. He was

then allowed to be carried back to the boat, and Hussein even sent to say, that it was a mistake, and that he asked pardon ; but Woodroffe, who was spitting blood, and unable to stir out of his bed, felt himself scarcely in a state for the exercise of that Christian virtue. A representation, therefore, being made to court, orders came down to deprive Hussein of his post, his property, and his very clothes, in addition to which his nose was to be slit open, and both his ears cut off. The penitent offender declared that he had been entirely misled by the Russian secretary ; who, however, was only ordered to ask pardon, which was prevented by the immediate sailing of the vessel.

During the stay of the English at Derbend, Elton arrived from the Persian camp, and astonished them all by the complete metamorphosis which had taken place in his person. Instead of his plain English dress, he appeared in a coat of honour, sash, turban, and all the insignia of a Persian grandee. On his head he wore the roll of paper containing the decree by which this rank had been conferred upon him. This was only the prelude to an entire change of views and pursuits. Nadir, ambitious of every kind of power, felt himself severely cramped by the low state of the Persian navy ; while the total ignorance of his shipbuilders left no hope of improvement,

unless from foreign aid. Elton appeared exactly the man now wanted ; and his ardent and ambitious character, easily intoxicated with royal favour, made him a ready instrument. He had already been employed in transporting provisions for the army, and he now sailed to destroy a band of pirates, who had established themselves in the Gulf of Balkhan, on the east of the Caspian. The pirates escaped either by sea, or by flying into inaccessible mountains ; but he fixed a position for a fort, which might keep them hereafter in check.

The Russian residents had, from the first, viewed with a very evil eye the appearance of the English ; and seeking by all means to undermine them, they now transmitted to court an exaggerated statement of Elton's proceedings. They represented, that he was in no degree a merchant, but an officer in the service of the Schah ; that he had just been employed in the conquest of a maritime province ; and that the sole aim of all his exertions was to establish the naval power of the natural enemy of Russia on the Caspian. The ministry at St Petersburg gave immediate notice to the British factory, that it was totally out of the question that their countrymen should be permitted to pass through the Russian territory, if this was to be the use made of the privilege. The factory, who had been hitherto unapprised

of Elton's proceedings, were struck with equal surprise and dismay. They entreated a short delay ; and, in the mean time, despatched JONAS HANWAY, a worthy and well-meaning person, to examine how the fact really stood.

Hanway set out from Petersburg on the 1st September 1743, carrying with him a caravan of goods for the Persian market. These caravans consist of long light carts drawn by one horse, and covered with mats and skins, to keep out the rain and melted snow. They form often a line nearly a mile in length ; but having neither trumpet, horn, nor other signal, robbers often cut off the rear. At Zaritzin he embarked on the Volga, and received a most formidable account of the pirates, who make that and the other great rivers of Russia the main theatre of their operations. They went in bands of thirty, forty, and even eighty ; and, though provided with fire-arms, made it a rule to board immediately. The Armenians made often a vigorous resistance ; but other nations, considering them as endued by the devil with supernatural power, made it a rule to throw themselves flat on the deck, and never look up till the robbers had finished their work of plunder. These marauders, when taken, met a punishment still more savage than their deeds. A float was constructed, furnished with a frame, whereon were fastened a number of iron hooks,

each of which was stuck into the breast of a victim, whose hands were closely tied behind his back. The float being then pushed out into the river, and all forbidden, on pain of death, to afford food or help, these miserable wretches perished in a few days, uttering the most frightful cries and maledictions.

Through all these perils our traveller arrived safely at Astrakhan, and sailed across the Caspian to Langarood Bay. He found Mr Elton straining every nerve, and striving, as it were, against nature herself, in order to raise a navy to Nadir Schah. He made sails of cotton, and ropes of flax ; he got iron by fishing up all the anchors that had been lost for many years on the coast ; he dragged timber over roads nearly impassable. Workmen were procured by sending parties with clubs to drive in the unfortunate husbandmen from their cultivation of rice and silk, and compel them to work as carpenters. Those attempting to desert, were nailed up by the ear, and left to hang for some hours at the stern of a ship. Hanway, who was invested with no authority, could only venture to hint the little profit that was likely to accrue, either to the Company or himself, from this eager activity. Finding that Elton had made no attempt to prosecute the adventure to Mesched, of which he had held out such golden expectations, Hanway determined

to proceed upon it himself. Having embarked, therefore, the value of five thousand pounds in woollen goods, he sailed along the southern shore of the Caspian, much wondering at the immense height of the mountains, which prevented the sun from being seen for an hour after his rising. He landed at Astrabad, where he was well received, and assured of a sufficient convoy to Mesched. When all, however, seemed in a fair train, and forty bales were even sent off, the conduct of the governor became suddenly mysterious. He raised continual difficulties, and neither refused nor agreed to any thing. After two days spent in this harassing manner, on a sudden the drums were beat, the shops shut, and the town echoed with sounds of alarm. The truth then came out. Mahommed Hassan, a chief whom Hanway saw at his first arrival, had slipped out of the city, raised the standard of rebellion, and was advancing with a body of troops, chiefly Turkman Tartars, allured mainly by the hope of plundering our author's caravan. His situation was serious, the ship being departed, and there being no means of escape; nor could any situation be less agreeable than that of a city stormed by a barbarous enemy, who, at any serious resistance, never scrupled to put all to the sword. Recommending himself to Providence, he soon heard an irregular discharge of musketry at the walls. It

ceased after a short interval, which he fervently prayed might arise from the surrender of the city; and so it proved; the enemy being immediately heard running through the streets, shouting and hallooing in token of victory. Mahomed Hassan then waited on Hanway, and assured him of protection, and of having his goods returned, but that he must give them up in the first instance; upon which point our author never hesitated, having all the keys ready to put into his hands. Two bare-legged Turkmen then stalked in, and after surveying the party, said, "You give us the Russians' merchandise, why not give us the Russians themselves?" The Persian chief said, "What could you make of them?" To which the other replied, "They could at least keep our sheep." The Persians, however, who pay a particular respect to merchants, stood firm against this arrangement; and Hanway remained for some time at Astrabad, safe, though in great apprehension and discomfort. He was particularly dismayed by the violent hankering which the Turkmen shewed after his person. They paid several visits; but the anxious care with which they scrutinized all the premises, strongly suggested the idea, that they were contriving some private mode of carrying him off. They embarked him also in long theological discussions, the aim of which

was found to be, to prove him not only a Christian, but one that did not believe in God; in which case, they would have claimed him as lawful prize. These discussions more and more whetted our author's impatience to depart; and he at last made an arrangement with some carriers who were going to Balfrush, the capital of Mazanderan. As they passed through the Persian towns, the boys, taking them for Tartars, called out "Turkumanæ!" in a tone of welcome, which shewed, that even these barbarians appeared to the Persians less dreadful than the yoke of Nadir. Twenty miles from Balfrush, the carriers learning that an army was coming to attack the rebels, stopped and put down our author in a spot on the sea-shore, surrounded with marshes; nor could they point out any mode of conveyance except a small fishing-boat, which seemed unfit to live in the swell that broke upon the coast. The author threatened force if they would not give him a horse or carry him farther; but seeing the carriers beginning to prepare their muskets, he judged that he would probably be shot in the fray, and rather chose to entrust himself to the waters. The fisherman rowed him along the shore among the breakers, but so skillfully as to bring him in safety, though amid a thousand fears, to Balfrush. Here new troubles awaited him. All was in confusion, and prepar-

ing to fly before the Turkmen, who were marching triumphantly through Mazanderan. With long and earnest entreaty, he extorted from the governor a horse, which, after going three miles, foundered behind, and placed itself on its tail like a dog. His subsequent remonstrances, though earnest and incessant, could only procure now and then another, whose services were as little durable. He was obliged, therefore, to proceed most of the way on foot, through marshy ground, and often obliged to wade rivers which took him up to the middle. Once, indeed, he was better mounted, the charge of the females being then entrusted to him; but that was a dangerous service, and our author professes very little inclination to hazard his life in the cause of those oriental fair ones. Finding once his beard grown to a most inconvenient length, he, with great difficulty, procured a barber; but that operator learning, in the midst of the process, that he was a Christian, uttered a cry of horror, and ran away; and Hanway was obliged to push on with his half-shaven beard. He would, therefore, have fared very ill, had not the rebels suddenly stopped their pursuit, in consequence of intelligence that a force was levying against them in Khorassan. He was thus enabled to proceed more leisurely to Langarood, where he was kindly received and comforted by Mr Elton.

As soon as Mr Hanway was again in travelling condition, he determined to set out for the camp of the Schah, who, he was assured, made compensation to merchants in all cases of similar loss. In his way he stopt at Casbin, and had a long conversation with the principal merchant of that city. He was assured, that the expedition to Mesched, which he had attempted in the face of so many dangers, was the most chimerical that could be imagined; that he would have found nothing there but poverty, and could have disposed of no considerable proportion of his goods. There was little, indeed, to be hoped from any part of the empire, desolated as it now was by civil war. Ispahan, instead of a hundred thousand inhabited houses, scarcely contained five thousand; and the ruins of Casbin, spread beneath them, gave but too clear proof of similar sufferings. At the camp he did not see Nadir, who was deeply engaged in other concerns; but he was well received by the minister, and assured that his loss should be made good to the last *denaer*. The rebellion being, it seems, now completely suppressed, he received an order on Behaud Khan, who commanded at Astrabad, to restore, as far as possible, his own goods, and to pay the value of the rest out of the forfeited estates of the rebels. Our author felt a cold shudder at the idea of revisiting Astrabad; but

could with no decency decline. He had a delightful journey through the finest part of Persia, abounding in woods, streams, cultivated fields, and a back-ground of lofty mountains. On approaching Astrabad, the first object which greeted his eye was a pyramid of human heads, raised forty feet from the ground, with niches in which the heads were stuck, projecting a little, and with the beards hanging down. On entering Astrabad, he was carried to Behaud Khan, called the "high and mighty minister of ministers." He found him surrounded by his officers, judging the unhappy sharers in the late rebellion; who, on sentence being pronounced, were spit upon, their beards pulled, and while calling aloud for death, were carried away and their eyes put out. The rebel chiefs being sent for, were interrogated respecting the plunder of Hanway, and ironically called upon to replace what they had taken. Our author was struck with the deepest sense of human vicissitude, when he beheld these gay young nobles, who had paraded through Astrabad amid eastern pomp, and in all the pride of victory, but who now entered, deprived of eye-sight, their heads bent down, and in garments which bespoke the extreme of wretchedness. They replied, that they knew nothing of the goods; that Mahommed Hassan had taken and distributed them among the Turkmen;

and for themselves, they had nothing left but the rags which covered them. Our author had heavy complaints to make against several of these chiefs; but "in mercy, which seemed to be most wanted here," he was silent, and forebore to crush lower those who were already in such a depth of distress. He was assured of payment, though the difficulty of procuring the means was great, every resource of confiscation and plunder being nearly exhausted. The chief however said, that since, in executing the King's orders, it behoved him, at all events, to damn himself, he would not hesitate to do so a little more in order to accommodate him. Our worthy author, struck with the deepest horror at this view of the subject, besought him not, on his account, to sink deeper into perdition; yet could not withdraw his demand for the goods. He was earnestly importuned to accept payment in female captives; but steadily rejecting every such proposition, he at length received it, partly in money, and partly in raw silk.

The British trade on the Caspian was now fast drawing to a close. The Russian government, receiving continually new reports of the proceedings of Elton and his agents, announced, in November 1746, that the British would no longer be permitted to pass through their territories for the purposes of trade. At the same time all Persia

being involved in confusion and civil war by the death of Nadir, a rebel chief entered Reshd, plundered goods to the value of L.80,000, and sold them to the Russians, whose conduct in purchasing them, though deeply reprobated by the British, was never redressed. Soon after, Mr Elton paid the penalty of his royal connexion. Amid the general distraction, he fell into the hands of a party hostile to that which he had espoused, and was condemned to be hanged. A sudden march suspended the execution of the sentence, and gave him hopes of escape; but they found time, in one of their halts, to shoot him through the head.

In the course of this period, an attempt was also made to open a trade with Bokhara. Messrs THOMSON and HOGG were, in 1740, entrusted with this expedition. They set out from St Petersburg, and at Samara struck off to Yaick, and thence to the Aral Sea, through the country of the Kirghises. These people are robust, living in tents on flesh and milk, and continually wandering. They are hospitable in the extreme; but scarcely is the guest without the threshold, when his courteous entertainer will, without scruple, rob or enslave him. The travellers having procured a Kirghise escort, proceeded through the trackless deserts, guided only by hills and rivulets whose aspect was known to their conductors.

They kept watch night and day, having much to fear even from a friendly party, while a hostile one would certainly kill part, and make slaves of the rest. Their escort set the example, by seizing forcibly on some Kalmuks that fell in their way. They travelled nearly a month along the western shore of the Aral, which was very high and rocky, water being scarce, and the little that was found salt. On leaving the Aral, they passed through a swampy valley, which was said to be the old channel of the Oxus. They passed Urjenz, which they found in ruins, and arrived at Khievar, a large and strongly fortified city, surrounded by fertile and cultivated plains. The territory, during their stay, was invaded and occupied by Nadir Schah. After some difficulty in procuring a convoy, they parted; Mr Hogg returning by the eastern side of the Aral, where he was plundered by a band of Kirghises, but recovered part of his goods by the interference of their chief. Thomson reached Bokhara, which he found a great and populous city, but its commerce much declined, many of the great caravan routes being blocked up by the wars in which all this part of Asia was involved. European commodities were little consumed, nor did any article bear such a price as could pay the expense and hazard of transporting it over these immense deserts.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRAVELS OVERLAND TO AND FROM INDIA.

Tenreiro.—Bernardino.—Godinho.—Capper.—Campbell.

AMONG the travels through Asia, which do not properly belong to any one region, but consist in the transition from one to another, may be included the travels overland between India and Europe. Although this route was no longer the channel of extensive commerce, it continued to be sought as a medium for communicating intelligence more speedily than by the circuitous and precarious route of the Cape. This path, however, was beset with difficulty and adventure, leading either along the border or through the depth of deserts, inhabited by tribes whose occupation it had been, from the earliest ages, to attack and plunder the traveller. The narratives, therefore, of those who have passed along it, are usually diversified with striking incident, and bring the reader acquainted with new and peculiar forms, both of nature and society.

About 1520, Don Duarte de Meneyes, the Portuguese governor of India, sent an embassy to the Persian court, to complain of some exactions which were made upon the trade of Ormus. The ambassador was Don Balthazar de Pessoa, but the narrative is written by ANTONIO TENREIRO, who followed him in some subordinate capacity. It begins from Ormus, to which they proceeded by sea from Goa. They left that city in a royal galley, amid the sound of trumpets, and landed at Bandel, a town of thatched cottages. They proceeded through an almost desert country to Lara, a great mart of inland commerce, and the residence of many *carriers*, as they are called, but more properly caravan merchants, who conveyed goods on mules to and from all parts of Asia. Our author was here assured, that Timur, the great Asiatic conqueror, was not, as commonly reported, a shepherd, but was a Lara carrier; and it was alleged, that in this capacity he would much more readily acquire the skill and hardihood which fitted him for his great military career. Our author seems to have listened to these arguments, though the geographical position of the place appears to put their correctness entirely out of the question. On the road from Lara they met a number of Turquimanis (Turk-mans), whom he describes as robbers, of white complexion with red hair, who travel in *aduars*,

each of which contains six or seven hundred tents of felt covered with linen. Their women are handsome, industrious, and weave very fine carpets. In all the dominions of the Sophi through which our traveller passed, he met with detachments of these people. In several parts of the road, very alarming accounts were received of the danger to be apprehended from wild beasts; but the embassy, by keeping themselves nightly enclosed within a circle of large fires, escaped even the sight of these formidable visitants. They passed through Chiras and Espayon (Ispahan); but we shall draw from other sources the description of these celebrated capitals. They then proceeded through Caixaon (Kashan), Cum (Koom), and Sultania, to Tabreez, then the principal seat of empire. The Schah, however, whose habits of life were still moulded by his Tartar origin, was not resident at the city, but held his camp in a wide plain considerably to the north. Thither the ambassador travelled by slow stages through a country of irregular surface, abounding in grass, but destitute of trees, except a few detached ones planted along the road. The only fuel employed was the dung of horses and camels, or occasionally a species of earth strongly impregnated with an oily substance. On approaching the camp, they were met by a number of the Moorish lords, who testified their welcome in a manner more con-

formable to their northern descent, than their Moslem profession. They produced large silver bottles filled with wine, which immediately began to circulate with the utmost rapidity. The Portuguese, though they avoided the copious libations of their entertainers, could not avoid doing some honour to the liquor thus presented. The day was thus jovially consumed, and it was night before they entered the camp. They found a handsome tent provided, were copiously supplied with provisions, and were assured of the most friendly disposition on the part of the monarch. No audience, however, could be obtained for some days, on account of a splendid festival which the prince was giving to all the kings, lords, and great men of Persia and its tributary kingdoms. The ambassador had thus the opportunity of witnessing a full display of the pomp of this half-Tartar, half-Persian court. A number of new and rich tents were prepared for the occasion, one of which equalled in magnitude the state-hall of the king of Spain. It was lined with satin, and the prop on which it rested adorned with gold, azure, and various colours. Before this tent was a covered porch of the same materials, and the floors of both were laid with the richest carpets. The Persian kings and great lords were in the interior of the tent, while for about two bow-shots around, the ground was carpeted, and largely covered with

provisions and silver bottles full of wine, out of which these devout Mussulmen drank most copiously. The ambassador was seated immediately in front of the tent, and liberally supplied with viands and wine. These rites consumed the greater part of the first day. On the morrow the Sophi commenced a most grateful part of the entertainment, by distributing numerous gifts prepared for the occasion. These were chiefly rich silks, brocades, swords embellished with gold, turquoises, and rubies; and horses whose saddles were covered with ermine, sable, and other precious furs. The great lords in return presented each a cup of wine, which the Sophi, who, according to the custom of his ancestors, placed his glory in the quantity which he could swallow with impunity, made a point of drinking off. The ambassador then produced his presents, consisting of fine Bengal cloths, preserved ginger, a piece of amber cut into the shape of a man's head, ruby and diamond rings, and a large bowl of the finest porcelain. Nothing, however, afforded so much gratification, as a complete suit of very rich armour; and the Sophi manifested his convivial prowess, by filling the porcelain vessel and drinking off its contents. On this second day also began the games, among which displays of their skill in archery took the first place. At some distance from the tents were erected two lofty

masts, surmounted by a piece of gold cut into the form of an orange. The Persian lords, standing at a little distance, directed their arrows against these golden oranges; and afterwards, to make a grander display of skill, several of them mounted on horseback, and galloping round, shot at them flying. The orange was the prize of him who struck it; and the king, from a large box placed by his side, immediately supplied another. This was followed next day by a hunting party on a truly immense scale. The camp broke up, partly on horseback, and partly in tents. The horses are said to have amounted to twenty, and the tents to thirty thousand. They were attended by dogs and hawks innumerable, and their march was accompanied by trumpets and all the instruments of warlike music. When they reached, and spread themselves out into the field, they formed so immense a host, that the birds in the air attempted to fly over them, but stunned by the cries raised by the multitude, fell down, and were caught by the hand. One embellishment, very unusual in eastern festivals, was derived from the great number of ladies present. All those, both of the Schah and of the great lords, took part in the chase, mounted on horses richly caparisoned. They bestrode them like men, and were apparelled in a fashion nearly similar, being distinguished only by their head-dress, and by a

cushion in front to lean upon. The splendour of the scene was increased by a multitude of merchants, who at a little distance formed a sort of separate camp, composed of numerous tents, in which were displayed all the richest commodities of the East.

After several days consumed in these festivals, the court proceeded northwards to the shores of the Caspian, and established itself at Ardivil. Tenreiro does not mention any negociation which passed between the ambassador and the Schah, but merely notices, that one day a messenger arrived to announce that they should lose no time in packing up and feeding the horses, preparatory to their departure. This notice, from a peculiar cause, struck them with deep dismay. The health of the Sophi, doubtless not improved by recent Bacchanalian exploits, was now so infirm, that his death might be hourly expected, in which case they had much reason to dread being maltreated, and even killed, during that temporary anarchy which, it seems, in this country, is always consequent on such an event. Their first plan was to fortify themselves in a large caravansera near Ardivil; but, on a careful survey, this post was found untenable. They had no alternative, therefore, but to set out and travel three days and nights without intermission, till they arrived at Tauris. They here established themselves in their old quarters, which they fortified, and held themselves continually

armed and on the watch. The Sophi's death was soon announced, and at the same time a great lord arrived with a body of cavalry, and caused proclamation to be made, that any one who raised the slightest disturbance should have his head instantly struck off. The new Sophi, soon after, having taken up his residence in the neighbourhood, began by instituting a rigorous inquiry into the malversations of his servants, many of whose heads he cut off with his own hand. He followed this up by killing as many lions and bears as he could possibly procure. Such, it seems, was the established mode, by which it behoved Persian monarchs, at their first accession, to impress their subjects with a due portion of reverence. These paternal measures having established him in their good opinion, the ambassador set out for the royal camp, in order to fulfil the object of his mission. Tenreiro, however, did not accompany him, but joined a body of Armenian Christians who were proceeding to the Holy Land and to Jerusalem, to visit which was the object of our traveller's most anxious wishes.

In following this track, the route lay first over the most elevated regions of Armenia, which, as winter then prevailed, were found extremely cold, and the country entirely covered with snow. The natives here pointed out to Tenreiro the mountain on which the ark of Noah had alighted,

with the ark itself still resting on it, which, they assured him, they saw most distinctly, and were accustomed to bring down fragments of the wood as relics. Our traveller, however, after gazing long in the most anxious and intent manner, never was able to discover any thing but snow; a circumstance which deeply mortified him, and which he could account for only by supposing that some extraordinary malady had affected his eyes, in consequence of the dazzling white which surrounded them. The party then proceeded to a town called Caraemite, which appears to be Diarbekir, and which had recently been conquered from Persia by the Grand Turk. Here our traveller was obliged to stop for a few days, travelling being rendered dangerous by the great rains which had inundated the neighbouring country. Here his strange dress, and the imperfect manner in which he spoke the Persian language, became a ground of speculation. He was sent for into the presence of the Basha, whom he found surrounded with cadis, or writers, ready to take down the result of the examination. His character and destination being demanded, he gave an account of the embassy to which he had been attached, his separation from it, and present object. A suspicion was intimated that the Portuguese government was sending to the Sophi cannon-founders, and even some pieces of artillery;

which Tenreiro strenuously denied. He then happened to mention the death of the Sophi, which, being new to them, caused a burst of joy. Their minds being quite occupied by this intelligence, he was dismissed without further notice. He now considered the danger as over, and, instead of hastening away, amused himself with walking about the city, and viewing whatever was to be seen. While he was thus leisurely preparing for his journey, he was again suddenly sent for by the Basha, and went through the same examination as before. At the close, instead of being liberated, he was committed to the charge of a Moor of distinction, who carried him to his own house. He was then told, that, being innocent, he had nothing to fear, but at the same time chains were put upon his feet, and his pockets were carefully emptied of all their pecuniary contents. In short, he found himself a prisoner, without hope of release. At the same time, a Turkish chief, called Brahem Basha, being about to set out for Cairo, our traveller was placed under his care, for the purpose of being conveyed to that city.

In consequence of these disastrous events, the projected visit to Jerusalem was entirely frustrated. Tenreiro was carried by Urfa to Calepe (Aleppo), which he calls "a great city, much named in those parts." He does not however

estimate the population at more than ten or twelve thousand people. Thence they proceeded by Hamah to Damascus, and then through the eastern part of Palestine, to Cefete (Safet), Ramle, and Gaza, and from thence, crossing the desert, to Cairo. Here it was that his fate was to be finally decided; and after being kept for a few days bound and handcuffed, he was carried before Brahem Basha, whom he found sitting in a splendid marble hall, covered with rich carpets. The former interrogatories were then put and written down in the same formal manner, after which he was dismissed. About ten days after, a Turk coming in from the court, was asked by the others if there were any news? to which he answered there were none, except that Tenreiro was the day after next to be taken to the market-place, and to have his head cut off. This was not meant for the ear of our traveller, who was not supposed to understand Turkish, but he had by this time caught such a smattering as enabled him to comprehend the doleful tidings. He was instantly seized with a cold tremor, and spent the two next days more dead than alive. When these however passed without any crisis, faint hopes began to arise; and these were soon strengthened by favourable rumours. Five or six days after, the master of the house came in with very good accounts; but these not being quite

certain, several Turks ran to court, and brought orders from Brahem Basha that Tenreiro should immediately be set at liberty. He now met with Jews who treated him with kindness, and he had some thoughts of proceeding to Jerusalem ; but not finding any caravan about setting out, he preferred going to Alexandria, and embarking for Cyprus, then a Christian island. His object being now to return to Ormus, he was recommended by an Armenian merchant to proceed to Aleppo, where there was a great Venetian merchant, who would procure him a place in the caravan that would soon cross the desert. Following this advice, he landed at Ajaca (Aias) in Caramania, pushed on under a Turkish escort to Aleppo, and thence to Thaibe, where he found the great accumulated cafila about to depart. Thaibe was a small town of 15 or 1600 houses, governed by a Xequé (Sheik), who derived his chief revenue from furnishing camels, horses, and armed Arabs for the protection of the caravans. The cafila then departed under the command of a Sheik called Menencale, and in five or six days reached the Euphrates, where, finding pasture and water in abundance, they made themselves quite at ease, and galloped backward and forward, sometimes to, and sometimes from the river, making scarcely any sensible progress towards their destination. The merchants, though they felt inexpressible chagrin

at this delay, durst not, for a long time, say a word, feeling themselves entirely in the power of their Arab escort. At last, after a month consumed in these devious roamings, they ventured to hint, that this delay was alike extraordinary and inconvenient, and besought that they might be conveyed forward in a more direct line. The Arabs answered, that this was impossible, on account of the hostile bands by which their way was crossed. They continued, therefore, scampering about in this manner for three months, till the original stock of provisions being exhausted, severe famine began to be felt. This was more particularly severe on Europeans, as, notwithstanding the small progress made, they were kept continually hurrying to and fro, and never enjoyed a moment of rest. To relieve this want, the Arabs attacked and made themselves masters of a hostile Aduar. In great clemency they spared their persons, but turned them out with only a few buckets and camels to draw up the water in them, without which they must have perished immediately. They thus acquired a considerable number of sheep and cattle; but instead of using these as provision for their journey, they never left the Aduar till they had eaten up the whole, and had then to encounter the same want as before. In this extremity, some Moors confided to our traveller their design of separating from the

caravan, and making for the nearest habitation; in which he was too happy to concur. After three days, during which they subsisted upon locusts, they reached a village called Racabaim. Tenreiro was now so exhausted, that he could not stir from his bed of palm branches, unless when he was artificially lifted up, and a mess administered of dates, barley, and milk, by virtue of which he mended apace. As soon as the party could travel, they set out, and passing by Cefeta and Mecera (Meshed), famous in the East as the sepulchre of Ali, they reached Bassora, whence they found an easy passage to Ormus.

Tenreiro remained at Ormus for five or six years; at the end of which time, the governor, Christopher de Mendoza, sent him back on a mission to Portugal. He carried with him a letter to the King of Bassora; in which that prince was urged to secure for him the means of effecting a safe passage across the desert. On reaching Bassora, he learned with dismay, that the caravans to Damascus and Aleppo had set out some days before, and the King warned him, that it was impossible to travel in small parties without the most imminent hazard, both from the robbers and the wild beasts which roamed over that vast expanse of desert. Moreover, it was next to impossible to find any one hardy enough to undertake the office of guide. Tenreiro's zeal,

however, still leading him to urge his departure, the King, at the end of a fortnight, informed him, that he had found a man who, for eighty cruzados, would engage to accompany him. Two dromedaries were therefore provided, with buckets for drawing water, biscuit, dates, and some round balls of dough, which were to form the only support of the dromedaries. Setting out from Bassora, they arrived in two or three days at the village where the guide's family resided, who all took leave of him with tears, as of one whom they were never perhaps to see again. The two travellers set out on their solitary route at midnight, taking a road directly opposite to that which they intended to follow, in order to deceive, if possible, the watchful activity of the robbers of the desert. They did not here take the circuit along the Euphrates, but went by the shortest line to Aleppo. They travelled twenty-two days without finding water more than four times; and without meeting man or woman. They saw only a great number of white cows, whose hair shone like silver, and whose heads and tails resembled those of horses; also wild asses in large flocks, sometimes of two or three thousand. They made also the more formidable encounter of lions, tigers, and ounces, who repeatedly gave them chase; and it was only by vigorously applying the spur to their dromedaries that they

were able to escape. One morning at dawn, their dromedaries suddenly ran off with a celerity far surpassing all former example, and continued for several miles, without its being possible to retard their course. During this flight, they took such tremendous leaps, that Tenreiro expected every instant to be tost in the air, and considers it little short of a miracle that he was able to keep his seat. When a pause at length ensued, he and the guide looked at each other for some time without being able to utter a word. At length he summoned breath to inquire, what could possibly be the meaning of this? The guide professed total ignorance, but supposed the animals must have seen a lion or some other wild beast among the bushes, which had thrown them into so unheard-of a panic.

After travelling these twenty-two days, Tenreiro reached an Arab town, which he calls Cocana; and having delivered to the Sheik who governed it, a letter from the King of Bassora, experienced a very cordial reception. Here he found that a small caravan was on the point of setting out for Aleppo; and though he would willingly have rested for a few days, the opportunity was not to be lost. He afterwards took ship at Tripoli, and proceeded by way of Italy to Portugal.

In 1611, FRAY GASPAR de San BERNARDINO, of the order of St Francis, undertook the journey by land from India to Portugal. He embarked at Goa; but the vessel was driven by a storm upon the coast of Africa, and landed at Pemba, whence, as soon as the weather permitted, it found its way by Mombaca and Socotora into the Persian Gulf. Our traveller landed at Ormus, and found that city still in the possession of the Portuguese, and its glory undiminished. The orientals say, the world is a ring, of which Ormus is the diamond. To this lofty panegyric it seemed entitled, by the magnificence of its mansions and palaces, its vast trade, which made it the emporium of the East and West, and the abundance of merchandises and provisions. The taste of the inhabitants appears to have been polished and elegant; they were passionately fond of music and poetry, as well as deeply versed in history and antiquities. When Bernardino was introduced to the king, he found an old Moor reading and illustrating, in an animated manner, and with many gestures, the history of Alexander and Darius. With all these advantages, the climate is such, that for nine months in the year he considers it as a hell upon earth. Persons exposing themselves to the sun at mid-day, are often struck dead on the spot; and the inhabitants can sleep only on the terraces at the top of

the houses, wrapt in skins thoroughly wetted. The horses must be driven at night to the seashore, as they would be suffocated if they remained in the stalls.

From Ormus, our traveller landed at Bandel, and proceeded by Lara and Chiras to Babylon (Bagdad). The information communicated, however, is rendered very small by his anxious desire to display his learning; so that he values himself much more on reporting what Aristotle and Ptolemy said, than what he himself saw. Having crossed the Euphrates, he joined the great caravan going from Bagdad to Aleppo. As they were preparing to set out, about evening arrived a crowd of Arabians with loud shouts and cries, demanding the duties which their king, Burixa, claimed from all who passed the desert. After a long and turbulent discussion, the rate was fixed at six thousand cruzados; but, in bargaining and counting over the sum, six days were consumed, which would have been intolerably tedious, but for the pleasure he found in singing the 136th psalm by the streams of Babylon. After they had set out, our traveller was much surprized with the mode in which the captain of the caravan communicated intelligence to Bagdad. He had pigeons whose young and nest were at his house in that city; and every two days he let fly a pigeon, with a letter tied to

its foot, containing the news of his journey. This account, it seems, met little belief in Europe, and was treated there as a matter of merriment; yet he asserts its veracity in the most positive manner. On the road they met with other Arabian bands, who came up demanding the dues of their king, and on being told that they were already paid, shewed the most inveterate scepticism. The discussion being conducted with loud cries, which soon came to blows, the camel-drivers were alarmed for their property, and began to make off, so that Bernardino found at last no alternative but to satisfy these furious claimants by giving them 10,000 cruzados more. On his arrival at Thaibe, other dues were demanded, so that the whole sum exacted in the journey was found to amount to upwards of 100,000 cruzados.

IN 1668, Father MANUEL GODINHO, of the Society of Jesuits, undertook a journey by land from India to Portugal. A traveller, he observes, is usually expected to give some account of the purpose of his journey, but this he declines to do, on account of its secret nature; only assuring us, that it was “in the service of both “majesties, divine and human;” that it concerned at once the salvation of thousands of souls, and the maintenance of the Portuguese power in India.

Godinho begins with deploring the almost total downfall of the Lusitano-Indian empire, which formerly held sway over all the East; which extended eight thousand leagues, included twenty-nine capitals, and gave laws to thirty-three kingdoms; but was now fallen into the lowest state of weakness and decrepitude. The Dutch, he says, had been the main instruments employed by Providence to chastise the sins of the Portuguese. By depriving them of Ceylon, the Moluccas, Banda, and Malacca, they had cut them off entirely from the spice trade. The death-blow had then been given by the English, who attacked them on the continent, and assisted the Persians in the fatal capture of Ormus.

Godinho set out from Bassein, and proceeding by Damaun to Surat, saw that celebrated emporium in all its glory. He represents it as then the great market of India, and perhaps the richest city in the world. Vessels were continually arriving from Europe, Africa, Persia, and every part of India, while *cafilas* from the interior were continually bringing in its drugs, manufactures, and other internal produce. The mercantile houses were of prodigious magnitude; some were worth five or six millions, and had fifty ships belonging to them. The population is estimated at upwards of a hundred thousand souls, the basis of which consisted of "white Moguls,"

Moors, and Gentoos; but the residents, for the sake of commerce, included every people of the known world. The houses were low, and covered with woven palm leaves, so that when fire arose in one, it usually spread and laid whole streets in ashes. The Moors neglected entirely the outward appearance of their houses, while the interior was splendidly painted and gilt, and the floor spread with the richest carpets; so that without, he says, they appeared hell, and within paradise. The Banians, on the contrary, careless of internal accommodation, bestowed their whole study in beautifying the exterior. Their lower stories were built with stone and lime, but the upper part and the roof were entirely of wood, covered with enamel and various colours.

Surat, as being so large a city, afforded an ample field for the frantic excesses of the Jogues, as they are here called, who seek, by inflicting on themselves the most violent and fantastic sufferings, to gain the glory of sanctity among a superstitious people. They make it a rule to wear no clothes, except a bit of cloth round the middle, which is even considered by some as superfluous. They spread the ashes of burnt cow dung over the face, eyes, mouth, and the whole body. Some bury themselves alive by the side of the road, leaving only a tube, through which air may enter for respiration, and rice water may be

poured in for sustenance. Others station themselves on the top of columns, from which they never descend. Others, on great festivals, suspend themselves from poles by sharp iron hooks, fastened into their naked sides ; and, while hanging in this position, sing songs of joy to their idols. Godinho saw several who had remained ten years with their arms raised aloft in air, till they could not bring them down, even if so disposed. The hands were at the same time kept always clenched, and, from the nails having grown into the palms, could not be opened. Through these observances, they were regarded with equal reverence and fear by the whole community ; and the sons of the greatest monarchs often sought this distinction, as superior to that derived from their royal birth.

Godinho set sail from Surat with a Moorish captain or *Necoda*, accompanying a mixed crew of Gentoos, Mahometans, and Christians. As the vessel, on first quitting the harbour, carried too much sail, it sunk on one side, and a quantity of water rushed in, which caused a dreadful alarm ; and the air rung with confused cries of *Rama, Vishnu, Mahomet, Allah, Deos*. Some of the sails, however, being taken down, the ship was righted, and all the tumult ceased. During the voyage, Godinho had an opportunity, much to his cost, of becoming acquainted with many of

the superstitious habits of his fellow-passengers. The only sleeping place was on the open deck, where he had close by him a number of Gentoos. These personages felt a natural desire to free themselves from the swarms of insects which infested them ; but their religion forbade them to kill any living creatures, or even to plunge them into the sea. They made it a point of conscience, therefore, to throw the whole upon our traveller's bed, which happened to be most conveniently situated for that purpose ; or if, at his earnest intreaty, they made them light upon the ground immediately contiguous, they were at least never long of finding their way up to him. The unhappy Godinho, who enjoyed not a moment's rest day nor night, could think only of one remedy : He held them up and exhibited them put to death in the most cruel manner, fondly hoping that this catastrophe of their revered insects would impel them to find some safer deposit. The Gentoos, however, coolly observed, that the blood was upon his head, and that they, having removed them in safety from their own premises, could not be responsible for his barbarous conduct. Godinho would have been too happy had they shewn equal *sang froid* upon another occasion. A fine fat cow having been handed up the side of the ship, the captain was preparing to kill it, and Godinho agreeably anticipated this relief

from the insipidity of their vegetable diet. The Gentoos, however, hastened and implored on their knees the life of this animal, which they venerated almost as a divinity. Finding the captain very reluctant, and only to be prevailed upon by a large bribe, they consulted together, and raised by subscription the sum demanded. The cow was then led off, to the deep dismay of our author, but the inexpressible triumph of the natives, who crowded round, kissed, and congratulated her on this deliverance, as if she had been not only a human being, but their nearest and dearest friend. This joy was soon converted into sadness, when next day the cow died. A long period of mourning and fasting followed, at the end of which they burst into violent invectives against the Necoda and our traveller, whom, from the anxious wish shewn by them to kill and eat this object of their fond adoration, they could not help suspecting of some share in its sudden decease.

These might be considered as minor evils so long as the weather continued auspicious; but after about sixteen days of favourable sailing, a dead calm came on. The Necoda, according to the superstitious habits general in the East, never dreamt of ascribing this occurrence to any natural or accidental cause, but conceived that it could arise only from some guilt attaching to the

persons whom he had received on shipboard. Orders were therefore issued that all, of whatever age, sex, or religion, should plunge into the sea, and undergo a thorough ablution in its waters. He accordingly threw himself in foremost, and was followed by all the Moors and Gentoos. Our traveller felt exceedingly disinclined to this ducking, especially as sharks were numerous, and had nearly devoured one of the crew during the process. The Necoda, however, overruled every objection, and evidently shewed that he considered them as subjects standing peculiarly in need of the lustration. They had thus no alternative but to get themselves completely soured in the salt water. The purification being thus regularly and completely effected, the sea remained in exactly the same state as before. Something else must therefore be tried; and the master brought out a little wooden horse with a long tail like a flute, which he hung over the stern of the vessel. This proved much too effectual a remedy; for while the horse was hanging, a north wind arose and began to blow with the most alarming violence. This surprising change our author could account for only by supposing that the devil, tired of his compact to furnish wind and calm on demand, had resolved, by giving a great deal too much, to discourage further applications. The wind blew with such fury that in a day and

a half they found themselves off the southern coast of Arabia, between Curia Muria and the shore. The Necoda made haste to bring in the horse; but the devil, satisfied with having overfulfilled one branch of his compact, broke entirely the second. The tempest became always the more violent, and they were in hourly danger of striking against the shore, which would have been perilous to all, and fatal to our author, who expected nothing but death from the bigotted natives. In this distress, the Gentoos came forward and undertook to extricate the vessel. They drew out from a basket an image of Rama, with one large and two small bells, and carrying them to the stern, continued for many hours sounding the bells, singing, dancing, and kneeling before the idol; at the same time covering themselves with a certain red and odoriferous dust, and repeatedly throwing a coco against the wind. These rites continued till midnight, when the benefit derived from them was found to consist solely in the amusement and the exercise afforded to their lungs, the elements continuing exactly in the same state as before. Mortified at this failure, and taunted by the rest of the crew, their minds reverted to the fate of the cow, of which they could never acquit our author and the Necoda, and they became more and more convinced that some high deity had been incarnated

in its form, under whose vengeance they were now suffering. Meantime the wind continued always increasing, and they were driven farther and farther along the coast of Arabia. Some were of opinion that they should attempt to enter the Red Sea, but the pilot protested, that an attempt to pass the Straits of Babel-mandeb would be not only vain but fatal. Happily, at the end of six days, without any visible cause, the tempest ceased ; and the wind became not only moderate, but favourable. They retraced their steps along the Arabian coast, and entered the Persian Gulf. Here the master was preparing to land at Muscat, in compliance with the general wishes of the crew ; but our author, by reminding him of a former engagement, and by presenting a sum of money, prevailed upon him to proceed to Camaraon (Gombroon). Soon after, another tempest arose, much more dreadful than the former, from which they had so recently escaped. One blast swept away all the sails, and left the vessel with its bare masts. There was not a person on board who did not give himself up for lost ; for the shore being entirely composed of perpendicular rocks, left no hope but of being dashed to pieces. The scene was truly terrible. The screams of the women and children, the cries of the mariners, the roaring of the winds and waves, the crash of thunder, and the blaze of lightning, were

all mingled together. The Moors loudly declared, that their prophet had justly punished the Necoda for having declined going to Muscat at the request of an infidel, in which reproach the Gentoos, though always viewing the cow as the main origin of the evil, hesitated not to join. Amid these alarms and altercations, the sea suddenly calmed, and they were enabled, without difficulty, to reach the port of Gombroon.

Gombroon, our author observes, was the chief mart on the coast of this Gulf, and the Persians were endeavouring to transfer to it the immense commerce of Ormus. The road was most secure, sheltered on the land-side by high mountains, and on the sea by the islands of Ormus and Queixome (Kishme). It resembled a dead sea, and whole months would pass without its being stirred by a breath of wind. The best houses were those of the English and Dutch, built in the form of convents. There were about twenty of each nation; and the English, in consideration of having assisted the Schah in the capture of Ormus, enjoyed an exemption from some of the heaviest duties.

During his stay at this place, our author had an opportunity of viewing what remained of Ormus. The island, he observes, is scarcely a league long, and a quarter broad; it is a mere mine of salt and sulphur, and does not produce a living animal, a green herb, or a fountain of fresh water.

The heat is so dreadful, as to oblige the inhabitants to pass whole nights in baths of cold water on the top of the houses. This frightful spot was converted by the all-active power of avarice into one of the most fruitful and delicious in the world. She erected there a city which soon became the key of the Persian Gulf, and the channel through which the commodities of India were distributed through Persia, Turkey, and even Europe; in short, the emporium of the east and west, and a sort of universal fair. Not only was it covered with mosques and palaces, but even with gardens; and where not a drop of rain fell, trees were raised by mere artificial watering. In 1514, the Portuguese made themselves masters of Ormus, which they rendered, next to Goa, the chief seat of their power. It was therefore a fatal blow when, in 1622, Schah Abbas, with the assistance of England, drove them from it, and from all the isles and ports of the Persian Gulf. He demolished all their erections, and even obliged the inhabitants to migrate, leaving on the island only a garrison of eight hundred Persians. Our author, in viewing the remains of this magnificent city, and the pomp of isles by which it was surrounded, could not refrain from melting into tears, when he thought of the fate which had wrested from Portugal this famed seat of her former empire.

From Gombroon, Godinho proceeded by land to Congo, whence he took ship for Bassora. This appeared to him the greatest emporium of these seas. It contained upwards of a hundred thousand inhabitants of various nations, and merchants so immense, that if two hundred ships came into the harbour, they would load them in a month. The Euphrates flows along the walls, and canals from that river are conducted through every street, which serves both for the carriage of commodities, and for the watering of the numerous gardens. In consequence probably of the greatness of the capitals, the profits were not so high as in places of less magnitude ; so that the Dutch, not being able to gain cent per cent, scarcely thought it an object to come to Bassora. The environs of this city appeared to our traveller the most delightful he ever beheld. Whether you went by water or by land, nothing was to be seen but handsome country houses, orchards, gardens, and magnificent plains, watered by numerous streams, through which the white sails were gaily moving. The chief want was timber, no valuable species of which was found either in Arabia or the coast of Persia ; it was therefore imported at a high price from India. Bassora had been conquered by the Turks ; but at present it was governed by a hereditary Arabian prince, who

merely paid homage and a small tribute to the Porte.

Godinho at first proposed to go by water to Babylonia (Bagdad), but finding that some time would elapse before an opportunity occurred, his zeal to convey early to Portugal the important intelligence with which he was entrusted, determined him to undertake the perilous journey through the desert. He set out from Bassora with three companions, two Turkish and one Portuguese, all well armed; and they were joined by three Arabians, who wished their protection, and were stated to be peaceable persons. They spent the first night at a village governed by an Arab chief, whose premises our traveller was somewhat afraid to enter; but he was hospitably received, and invited to a handsome supper, consisting, among other dishes, of locusts fried with butter, which were found exceedingly palatable.

After resting a little, the travellers set out by moonlight, and soon found themselves in the heart of the desert, and saw nothing around them but an immense plain of loose sands. The sun, on rising, produced an intensity of heat seldom known even in this climate. Besides the torments produced by it, their water being soon exhausted occasioned a thirst so terrible, that it threatened every moment to prove mortal. His companion hawked and spit blood. Godinho sought relief

by rolling lead balls along his tongue, but the lead itself seemed to have lost its humid coolness. He began now recalling to memory the Pilar at Goa, and other fine fountains which he had seen and drank from in India, and, by the vain longing thus excited, rendered his sufferings more intense. They were increased also by the phenomenon of *mirage*, which took place to a great extent, and gave the impression as if he was continually approaching to some great lake; and he was almost distracted at finding that there was nothing before him but the arid wilderness. At length they reached a mosque, at whose foot was a pond of water; but, as our author was rushing to quench his thirst, he was informed that the water was salt, and of so pernicious a quality, that a Franciscan friar, after drinking largely of it, had died on the spot; and his bones lying half-buried at a little distance, formed a fearful warning against this indulgence. By plunging in it overhead, he enjoyed a momentary refreshment; but on proceeding, the thirst soon returned, and he felt as if in the agonies of death. One Arabian threw out his tongue like a dog, to catch the wind; but as there was not a breath, he only suffered the more. Another was constantly putting to his mouth the vessel in which the water had been carried; as if the mere smell of it could afford relief. At length, more dead than alive, they came in sight

of an Arabian shepherd, and instantly ran up to him. He had water, but so hot as to be quite unfit for quenching thirst. However, it was some relief to swallow a little, and to wash the face with it. About sunset, their sufferings were terminated by reaching a village in which they were received with that hospitality in which, he says, the Arabs excel all other nations, and were entertained with fresh milk and cold water. His companions, however, entertaining some doubts, seemingly groundless, of these "charitable Arabians," they pushed on to a fortress called Dairoie. Next day they determined to proceed along the banks of the Euphrates, though the route was at once circuitous, and more infested by thieves; but they thought it better to be robbed of every thing, than to pass such another day of horror. They travelled five days along the Euphrates, during which time they met a number of armed Turks, on their way from Bagdad to reinforce the army of the Basha of Bassora. One day they discerned four armed Arabians riding up to them full speed. The travellers waited their approach, taking care to have their pistols in readiness. The Arabs came up, and assuming a friendly air, asked how they could venture to travel so dangerous a road in such small numbers. Godinho replied, that as they carried no property with them, they had nothing to fear from robbers; and that being well

provided with arms, offensive and defensive, they could sell their lives dear. Upon this response, the Arabs begged a little tobacco, and rode on. This, with the being once almost drowned in a torrent that fell into the Euphrates, formed the only dangers encountered in this part of the journey. At length they came in sight of Ba Ali, more commonly called Meshed Ali, whose walls, surmounted by numerous towers and lofty minarets, seen far along the expanse of that desert plain, formed a magnificent spectacle. As this tomb of their tutelar saint formed a favourite pilgrimage to the Persians, a certain sum was levied from every one who entered. It appeared dreadful to our author to pay *patacas* for such a profane sight as that of the sepulchre of Ali; he therefore acquiesced in the proposal of the guide to sleep in the open plain at a little distance. It being the festival of Ramadan, they saw all the towers throughout the city blazing with fires. From this place Godinho could have gone direct to Anna; but he was assured that this journey, besides being dangerous and difficult, could only be performed with camels. It was necessary, therefore, to make the circuit by Bagdad. At the end of the first day he arrived at Billhilleh (Hillah), which he describes as a great and prosperous city, but seems not aware how close it was to the site of the ancient Babylon. On the following night

they came to a truly magnificent caravansera, containing every accommodation for travellers, and capable of accommodating two thousand horses. As water was wanting in the neighbourhood, it was artificially conveyed thither, and furnished in the greatest abundance. About the middle of next day they reached Bagdad, which, with the rest of his countrymen, he calls Babylon, under the mistaken idea of its occupying the place of that ancient capital. We shall not follow him in the long history which he gives, from sacred and profane writers, of its various revolutions. He found it inhabited by about sixteen thousand Turks, Arabians, Kurds, and Persians, with three hundred Jewish families. The inhabitants of both sexes were of amiable and courteous manners ; they dressed richly and in good taste ; but they had lost their ancient reputation for valour, and were not trusted by the Turks in any affair of importance.

At Bagdad it behoved our author to make diligent preparations for his subsequent journey. Not only was the track henceforth more desolate, and more entirely destitute of water, but the encounter of robbers was now altogether certain. From Bassora to Bagdad, the conveyance being usually by water, the robbers did not expect any rich harvest on the land route. The case was reversed after Bagdad, when the journey could be

performed by land only. Having a letter of credit on a Banian for two hundred *patacas*, Godinho presented it at his country house, and was much dismayed at being told, that he neither could nor would give any such sum. The Banian, however, followed him home, and privately gave him the money, observing, that he had acted most imprudently in asking it in presence of a number of Turks and Arabians, one or other of whom would forthwith have transmitted the information to the Alarves. Our traveller was thus enabled to supply himself with the necessary arms and stores; and on the 21st April he set out with three companions, a guide, an interpreter, and a Portuguese. After travelling two leagues, they observed a man's head just visible over a hill on their left. On their riding towards the hill, the head was withdrawn; but they were not long of discovering a body of Arabs lying in close ambush behind. They drew forth their pistols and fusils, and exhibited them, as they rode along, in the most conspicuous possible manner, which made such impression on the Arabs, that they did not venture on any attack. This day and the following they had to repel some furious attacks of tigers. On the 23d they came upon the fresh traces of a caravan, which they rode hastily in order to overtake. On seeing them, the caravan drivers gave themselves up for

lost, threw their loads on the ground, and forming them into a parapet, drew out their bows and arrows. Our author, however, having made signs of peace, the chief came out riding on a cow, and on learning who they were, invited them to join his party. In a short time they met an Arabian riding full speed, who informed them that this track was daily scoured by a hundred and fifty Alarves, and he was surprised at not having yet seen any of them. He was offered some cakes, which are considered the greatest luxury in the desert, but refused every thing which could impede that celerity in which he placed his only hope. Soon after they saw traces of the feet of many horses, without any mark of shoes, a sure indication of robbers. Our author now proposed to the guide to shake off the caravan, and ride by themselves as swiftly as possible through the most unfrequented part of the desert. The guide replied, that having once joined the caravan, honour forbade him to separate ; an answer very unsatisfactory to Godinho, who even suspected bribery as the motive. Being obliged, however, to follow, they some time after saw at a distance an immense cloud of dust, without being able to discern whether the cavalry that raised it were coming to or going from them. They instantly leaped off their horses, and the caravan merchants from their camels, and having occupied

a narrow pass, fortified it with all their baggage. Seeing, however, that the enemy did not perceive them, but were hastening to a place of concealment, they retired to a grove on the banks of the Euphrates, and having lighted a fire, began to amuse themselves with toasting cakes on the coals, when a cry was raised, *Arabi dus, Arabi dus*, (Arab robbers). Starting up, they descried four Arabs riding up, one of whom proved afterwards to be the chief of the band which they had seen at a distance. The interpreter called to the riders to stop; a notice to which no attention was paid, till they heard two balls whizzing about their ears, when they pulled their bridles, and cried that they were friends, making the signals of peace. They were then admitted into the circle, and treated with all the refreshments which the caravan afforded. They ate heartily, and becoming extremely communicative, mentioned that they had just made a glorious prize, having overtaken near Hilla a rich Turk, on his way to occupy the place of Cadi at Bagdad. They killed him and two of his attendants, having lost one of their own number in the scuffle, and they carried off six camels laden with fine Indian cloths, opium, and other precious commodities. Having given these tidings, they began walking about the caravan, and helping themselves to whatever they thought agreeable, without the ceremony of

asking permission. Our author kept fast hold of his carabine, which the chief examined in his hand, asking why he put in more balls than one? to which Godinho replied, it was to kill ten Arabians at one fire. The chief hereupon shewed much emotion, and called out *Ala stafarla*, “God “deliver us!” Godinho now began to treat for security during the rest of his journey to Anna; the price of which, after some discussion, was fixed at fifteen *patacas*, of which he did not scruple to pay half in false money. The chief then said, “You may now travel in safety; if you meet “any of our cavalry, tell what has passed, and shew “them this sheep hook: my name is Sheik Burixa.” In an instant he disappeared, leaving every beaten route, and galloping over a wide waste, where there was neither path nor track. The party were then struck with mortal fear, lest he should discover the cheat of the false money, and collect all his bands in order to avenge it. The Arabs, however, being little accustomed to money, did not probably find it out till too late; and they reached Anna in two days, without any encounter, unless with a tiger and wild boar, of which last, as well as of wild asses, they saw infinite numbers.

Anna is described as formerly a flourishing city, “the court and capital of all the desert;” but now in a great measure left uninhabited. It

is a long narrow town, situated on a neck of land, enclosed on one side by the Euphrates, and on the other by a lofty rock; so that, without walls, it is secure from attack. The intelligence here received was truly appalling. They were assured, that no traveller had been lately known to have gone, either by land or by the rivers, without being robbed and murdered; that not an inhabitant of Anna durst stir beyond its gates; and that the great Babylonian caravan, which set out three months ago, had been stopped on the road, after paying sixteen thousand patacas, the robbers demanding still more. These tidings, our author says, cut him to the heart; but to return was as dangerous as to proceed, and there was no safety but in remaining for an indefinite time at Anna; a measure which his zeal led him at once to reject. They determined, therefore, to set off by the dawn of the following day, before the rovers of the desert should have got notice of their arrival. This resolution being taken, the guide said, "You shall now see whether I know the desert: I will take you by a route where not one of the Alarves shall see you, nor you them; however, prepare your arms."

On the evening of the 25th April, the party began their march along the street of Anna. Not only the passengers, but the people from the windows, called out in amaze, where they were

going? if they had not heard the news? and if they were anxious to be robbed and murdered? Seeing them obstinate in proceeding, they wished them a good journey, saying, "What bold men these Franks are!" The party proceeded to the top of an eminence, whence they commanded an extensive view over that mighty waste on which they were entering. They were too happy in not seeing any Alarves; and they immediately struck into the most dreary and unfrequented track. After a hard day's journeying they took up their lodging in a cave, which appeared to have been a lion's den. During the night they were attacked by six tigers in a body; but these animals finding them prepared, made off. That morning they found a well of good water, from which they quenched their thirst, and filled their bags. The guide now urged them to push their horses as hard as possible, since this day would carry them over the most dangerous part of the desert. They followed his advice to the utmost of their power, though the poor animals had nearly dropt down from thirst and fatigue. Towards evening they saw in a plain before them six Arab horsemen; and these, they were afraid, might be only the scouts of a larger body behind. Retreat, however, could it be effected, would only carry them back into that most perilous track which they had just passed; so that it appeared most expedient to

face the danger. They rode up towards the cavaliers, who approached without making any signs of amity. When within hearing they were called upon to stop, and say who they were; but, without answering, they struck a little out of the way, and halted. The party proceeded with all expedition; but the Arabs having held a consultation, were soon seen following at full gallop, with their lances couched. The Portuguese arranged themselves in the form of a cross, and before the enemy came up, fired at them seven balls; in which, he says, God placed such virtue, that they first stopped, and then turned and rode off. Being still afraid, however, of a larger body behind, the Portuguese pushed on with eager haste, and without taking any rest during that night. They passed near a beautiful spot, full of grass and water, but durst not pause for refreshment. Before day they passed the city of Rahab, which they did not choose to enter. Next day it rained for some hours without intermission, accompanied by a wind so violent, that they were tossed about like a boat at sea in a tempest; and, notwithstanding their anxious haste, they could make little progress. Night also brought with it little means of enjoying the repose so much wanted, the ground being covered, and their baggage soaked, with water. These discomforts, with the addition of fear, served them,

he says, for supper and sleep. About midnight they heard Arabic spoken near them. They had no means of flight or resistance; their horses were unable to move, and their fire-arms useless from wet. Providentially, the band passed on without observing them. They learned afterwards, at Thaibe, that it consisted of sixty Alarves, who had laid waste the whole country, and from the dread of whom not a person durst stir beyond the walls of Thaibe. The general feelings of this night he expresses by exclaiming, "God grant such nights to the enemies of his holy faith!"

Next day they proceeded on their journey, and were surprised by the view of a most magnificent edifice, partly in ruins. It was built of the finest marble, with Corinthian pillars, and the top adorned with numerous eagles and other birds of gigantic size. It answered our traveller's ideas of the temple of Solomon, though it had doubtless been destined to a very different purpose. He soon reached Thaibe, whence he found no difficulty in finding his way to Aleppo. There, however, he was arrested as a spy, but liberated by the good offices of a Jew and the French ambassador. He then embarked at Alexandretta for Marseilles, whence he crossed to Rochelle, and took ship for Lisbon, where he disembarked on the 25th October 1663.

IN 1778, Colonel CAPPER being sent to India in the service of the Company, performed the journey directly across the desert. As he found at Aleppo no near prospect of a caravan taking its departure, he was obliged to form one for himself. He therefore made an agreement with an Arab chief, Sheik Suliman, who was to receive nine thousand four hundred and twelve dollars at Aleppo, five hundred on the road, and eight hundred at Bassora. For this he undertook to furnish seventy-nine Arabs armed with musquets, and drawn from eight different tribes, and twenty-one camels: he was to furnish these with provisions, and to pay all duties. Near Palmyra they came in sight of an encampment, which, including women and children, appeared to contain little less than twenty thousand. The guide, however, compounded with them for a sequin upon each camel. They experienced other alarms, from coming in view of detached parties, or finding the traces of fresh encampment. They reached Bassora, however, without being attacked, or even compelled to pay any farther tribute. They passed within ten miles of Meshed Ali, and saw glittering in the sun its gilded cupola, which appeared about equal in magnitude to the dome of St Paul's. They took shipping at Grain, a small port seventy miles below Bassora, and arrived at Bombay.

Colonel Capper rather recommends the route home by way of the Red Sea. The only difficult and disagreeable part is the passage from Jidda to Suez; which may be avoided by landing at Cosseir. As to the dangers of the road from Suez to Cairo, he treats them as pretty chimerical, provided good arrangements be made, and pretty liberal presents given, for which others will be received in return. At any rate, if the traveller sends his baggage before, it alone will be in danger, and the Arabs will not trouble themselves with his person. Some conceal their rank; but great danger is thus incurred if the deception should chance to be discovered. Lord Percy, in 1776, was treated by the Beys with the greatest attention; while the Duke de Laflorens, a Portuguese nobleman, who was there *incognito*, was ordered to be arrested, and very narrowly escaped on board an English vessel.

In 1792, DONALD CAMPBELL of Barbreck was induced to undertake the journey overland to India, by some private concerns, which he hints were of no very agreeable nature. He went down the Rhine, and over the Tyrol to Venice, thence to Alexandria, and by Cyprus to Aleppo. The first view of this city appeared very splendid, exhibiting a varied scene of minarets, towers, and long ranges of houses variously disposed on slop-

ing hills, and intermingled with beautiful trees. After this, nothing could exceed his disappointment, when on entering he found nothing but a dismal succession of high stone walls, gloomy as those of a convent or state prison. The streets are not wider than the meanest alleys in London, and rendered still more dismal by the solitude and silence which pervade them; while here and there a lattice towards the top, barely visible, strikes the soul with the ideas of thralldom, coercion, and imprisonment.

Mr Campbell was received with the utmost hospitality by the European residents. This class having no other society but that of each other, live in great intimacy, and have their houses all contiguous, the flat roofs communicating so as to form a promenade of some extent. In walking out he was far from meeting with equal courtesy. He was often pursued the whole length of a street, with cries of "Frank cuckold," or "Infidel dog;" and, though those of better rank behaved with present politeness, yet on their departure the word *dog* was faintly heard in the distance. Their walking party being once joined by a lady, to whom our traveller had given his arm, he was surprised to see the crowd crying, clapping their hands, and gesticulating in the most violent manner. On returning home, he was informed by the lady's husband, that Bil-

lingsgate afforded no term of abuse, which had not been lavished upon himself and his fair companion. Campbell firing at this report, expressed regret at not having knocked down several by way of example ; but was assured, that nothing could be so fortunate as the omission of such a mark of resentment, which not only would have led to his own ruin, but would have involved in danger the whole European community.

Notwithstanding these uncourteous dealings, our author is so candid as to undertake vindicating the Turks from many of the aspersions which Christians habitually cast upon them. He even defends their government, though it should seem with little effect. There are written laws, he assures us, by which the security of the person and property is fully provided for ; but he then admits, that not the slightest regard is paid to them in the actual administration of justice. The Grand Signior is sometimes deposed and strangled, and the people consider themselves as having full authority from the Koran so to do ; but this is a very rough and irregular privilege, and the only fixed check seems to be that of the Ulema. Their religion consists chiefly in prayer, fasting, ablution, and charity ; practices either laudable or harmless, and not differing materially from ours, unless in this, that the Mahometans observe them with the most scrupulous punctuality ; while Christians claim

the happy privilege of regarding them only in so far as may happen to suit their convenience or inclination. Almsgiving is carried to a most remarkable extent, nor is there any country where the poor are so much honoured. Their hatred towards Christians is deep; but is it deeper than in Spain and Portugal is felt towards Turks or even Protestants, who are constantly saluted with the appellation of Moro! Barbaro! Bruto! not to mention the chance of having a dagger struck into their breasts *por l'amor de Dios*? Polygamy is allowed by their religion, and practised; but conjugal infidelity is much less frequent among men there, than with us among women. There are no fine gentlemen or Bond-street loungers, who pride themselves on the arts of seduction; nor is any man so unfashionable in Turkey as he who thus attempts to disturb the domestic peace of a family.

Our author having involved himself in an affair which, as he does not attempt to justify, we shall pass over in silence, found an urgent call to quit Aleppo. As the departure of a caravan was distant, he had no alternative but to engage the services of a Tartar courier; a class of persons who are employed by government for the speedy conveyance of despatches. One was accordingly found; and never, he says, was *Tartar* written more legibly on any countenance, nor did Chris-

tian ever behold a more unpromising friend with whom to entrust his life. Hassan was tall, muscular, and strong, his limbs Herculean, his shoulders enormously broad, his forehead high, his nose large, hooked, sharp, and prominent, barely separating a pair of small, fiery, black, and penetrating eyes. His mustachios were carefully sleeked with pomatum, and made to taper into a point, so as, when he spoke, to move like the whiskers of a purring cat. This great personage, after taking a long survey of our traveller, and repeatedly stroking his whiskers, at length declared, that he would undertake to conduct him. He promised to supply himself and servant with horses and provisions, and to deliver them safe at Bagdad; in return for which he was to receive one hundred pounds, the hope of an additional douceur of twenty pounds being held out in case of his giving satisfaction.

In making this journey, Mr Campbell did not travel directly across the Syrian desert, but made the circuit by Diarbekir, and thence down the Tigris, so as to keep always within inhabited territory. He found his uncouth conductor not ill qualified for the task undertaken by him. Invested with authority from the Sultan, he demanded horses, provisions, and every requisite for his journey, in the most peremptory and menacing tone, and was served with all the eager

activity which fear could inspire ; men, women, and children, running to anticipate his wants. This did not prevent him from displaying his power, by abusing, whipping, and kicking them about ; and his tyranny was such as would often have prompted his companion to interfere, had not prudence restrained him. Mr Campbell being equipped in the Tartar style, appeared in the character of a servant, and was treated outwardly with the utmost indignity, but really supplied with every thing he wanted. He had always the best horse ; and the Tartar, seated in state to an excellent dinner, contemptuously threw to him, sitting at humble distance, the most delicate parts of every dish. He was seriously discomposed, however, when our traveller, more merry than wise, was so struck by the oddity of his situation, that he burst into long and vehement fits of laughter, which at once compromised the dignity of his conductor and his own safety : he was repeatedly warned, that the life of the one, and the credit of the other, might be the forfeit. The guide, moreover, took frequent occasion to observe, that only Franks and monkies laughed, and that this folly was unknown to the noble race of Turks and Tartars. His care of his charge, though great, appeared exactly similar to what he would have felt for the safe delivery of a bale of goods, and the treatment somewhat simi-

lar. If Campbell chanced to be asleep at the hour of setting out, he would lift him up and place him on the horse without the least warning or attempt to awaken him, leaving the trot of the animal to accomplish that object.

The party rode at the rate of seventy or eighty miles a-day, so that in six days they reached Diarbekir, which appeared to our traveller to contain twenty thousand inhabitants, to be one of the handsomest cities in Asiatic Turkey, and the country round surpassed by few in the world for richness and beauty. Quitting Diarbekir before daybreak, our traveller was much surprised to discover the horses laden with some objects which presented the outline of a human form, though neither feature, joint, nor limb, were distinguishable. As light dawned, he discerned that they were human beings tied up in sacks, and fastened astride upon the horses, and learned with horror, that these were young females, whom the guide had purchased with a view of selling them at Aleppo. All our author's tender feelings for the sex were roused at the idea of their being smothered, shattered, and as it were torn to pieces, by being driven fifty miles a-day in this horrid position. He announced his intention of remonstrating with the guide ; but being informed that this might be dangerous, and that silence would be most prudent, his zeal cooled, and he acquies-

ced. On reaching Mosul, he ventured to inquire whether they were dead or dying, but was assured that they were in the most perfect preservation, and would be left there till the Tartar's return, when he would convey them with the same speed across the desert.

On this road Mr Campbell having got a very bad horse, requested his companion to exchange with him, as he had always done on such occasions. The latter refused with some *hauteur*, and being then reproached with breach of promise, darted in a furious manner at Mr Campbell, who expected a blow ; instead of which, the Tartar seized the reins, began whipping his horse, and spurring his own, till he had brought both up to the most furious speed. Our traveller's charger, wholly unfit for galloping at such a rate over uneven ground, was every moment on the point of tumbling overhead. Hassan, however, held up the reins with such unparalleled strength and dexterity, that he carried him triumphantly over every obstacle. Our traveller therefore ceased the shouts of rage and dismay which he had set up at the commencement of this career. When it had lasted many miles, the Tartar paused, and looking in his face, said, " Que dice Frangi ? que " dice ? " He then explained, that this route was infested by large bands of robbers from the neighbouring mountains, who either murdered or made

slaves of all whom they met ; hence the necessity for speed : and he significantly inquired, whether, he himself being on the weaker horse, Campbell could have carried it along in the same successful manner ; whereupon he obtained from that gentleman a full assent to his behaviour in the whole transaction.

The next incident might have been still more serious. Passing through a village, they saw a great crowd, among whom a number of *santons*, or holy men, were violently gesticulating. The Tartar having eyed them for some time, furiously spurred his horse, and rode past them at full gallop, which did not prevent their being followed by stones and by cries of *Giaour*, *Frangi Cucu* ! Mr Campbell was then told that he had been discovered, and but for this brisk movement, would certainly have been stoned to death.

These incidents and explanations caused a considerable abatement of the mirth in which our author had hitherto indulged. He began to revolve gloomy ideas of his distance from country and friends, and the hazard of perishing unheeded “ in an unknown corner of the wilds of an unknown country.” His spirits were thus brought down more nearly to the tone of those of his companion, which, on their arrival at Mosul, gained an unexpected elevation. They went to a coffee-house, to hear a story told. This exhibition, in

the East, is of the most animated description, and nearly the same as our drama, except that one person sustains all the characters. In this performance he draws out, with equal ease, the most opposite tones in the gamut of the voice. He speaks sometimes in the voice of a man, sometimes in that of a woman; he cries like a child, neighs like a horse, or brays like an ass. Sometimes he imitates the dissonant cries of a mob, at others those of a tumultuous assemblage of men and animals; and all this is done so perfectly, that only ocular demonstration could prove the whole to be the work of one performer. The comic exhibitor, called Karaghuse, bearing a close analogy to our Punch, produced scenes so ludicrous, as entirely upset the boasted gravity of the sage Hassan, who burst into torrents of laughter till the tears ran down his cheeks. Mr Campbell, studiously maintaining his gravity, now triumphed over his companion, who, however, insisted in return, that he laughed when it would do mischief, and now refrained when it would be harmless. However, these changes in both brought their dispositions now into a tolerable state of harmony.

Mr Campbell had intended to sail down the Tigris; but that river being dried up by the violent heats, he was obliged to proceed on horseback to Bagdad. He was much disappointed in that

famed and romantic capital, which appeared to him one of the most disagreeable cities in the world. Bassora he found pleasanter, and the seat of a very extensive commerce. Sailing thence for Mascot, he was obliged to put into Bashire, and to proceed in a Portuguese vessel to Goa.

IN 1789 Major JOHN TAYLOR, who by strict chronology ought to have preceded Mr Campbell, was employed by government to carry despatches overland to India. In considering the routes by which this journey may be effected, he distinguishes between the Little Desert and the Great Desert. The former lies between Aleppo and Anna, from which last travellers could go down the rivers to Bassora. The Great Desert stretches in a direct line from Aleppo to Bassora, and forms the shortest route ; but as there is no inhabited spot in its whole extent, greater provision must be made for passing it, as well as greater precaution against its roving inhabitants. The former route is that taken by the Portuguese travellers, Tenreiro and Godinho, the latter was followed by Colonel Capper and Major Taylor.

In passing from Scanderoon to Aleppo, the direct road being obstructed by the Curds, Major Taylor had occasion to pass through Antioch. He was deeply struck by the fallen state of this famed metropolis of the East, once the seat of

such boundless luxury and pomp. The sun of Antioch, he says, is set. It is now a miserable place, the streets shockingly dirty, the houses ruinous, and the place only supported by the passage of caravans. Some stupendous causeways and massy gateways alone attest its ancient grandeur. This was the only Turkish town in which Major Taylor sustained any serious insult. In passing to the caravansera he was spit at, Mrs Taylor was seized by the arm, and would have been violently pulled from her horse, had not a servant held her fast. A young fellow also made a violent attempt to wrench the whip from the Major's hand. Of the road from Aleppo to Antioch, part was fertile and beautiful, and might be called the paradise of Syria; but a great part, covered with ruined villages, bore marks of the tyranny of the government, and the devastation of the Curds. From the same causes, Aleppo exhibited manifest symptoms of decline; and of forty surrounding villages, not one was now inhabited. The Levant Company had even been induced to withdraw their factory there; at which some surprise is expressed, considering the immense communication which it has by caravans with all the interior of western Asia.

Major Taylor hired at Aleppo a caravan of sixteen camels, with an escort of forty Arabs. Passing Tayba or Thaibe he found it desolate,

and the houses in ruins. They spent about a month in passing the desert, and nothing remarkable occurred, except one unfounded alarm, till they came near the banks of the Euphrates, when they descried the encampment of the Montefeic or Great Sheik of the Arabs, amounting, it was said, to twenty thousand men ; but to our travellers they did not appear to exceed three thousand. The Sheik sent to demand tribute ; but on ascertaining that the caravan brought no merchandise, he was content with a present. Major Taylor found Bassora much declined from its ancient greatness and commerce, nor could he estimate its population at more than eight thousand souls.

At Bassora, Major Taylor received some accounts of travellers who had gone up the rivers, and across the Little Desert, from which he found reason to conclude, that this route was not only circuitous, but by much the most harassing and perilous. When one party, in 1788, was sailing up the river to Hillah, the boatmen were in such apprehension, that they insisted upon throwing over them large coarse woollen cloaks, so as to conceal them entirely, and thus, nearly suffocated and in the greatest misery, they were smuggled, like contraband goods, into Hillah. No consideration on earth could have induced them to repeat such a voyage. The next journey was much

more disastrous. In 1783, two parties, for some unexplained cause, went separate, one behind the other. The first party stopping to sleep at a village, were set upon at midnight by the Arabs, and, after a desperate struggle, were all cut to pieces except the cook, who fled, with five balls in his neck. The same fate was destined for the second party, who at first took no extraordinary precaution, till they were warned, by the kindness of some females, that danger was intended. From that time they kept close together with their arms ready primed, resisting all the entreaties of the Arabs to place confidence in them ; and the latter, sensible that some of themselves must fall in the first instance, never ventured upon an attack.

CHAPTER IX.

TRAVELS BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA.

Andrada.—Grueber.—Desideri.—Horace de la Penna.

THE empires of India and China, always the most populous and flourishing of the East, are not separated by any very wide interval from each other. Yet there are no regions, the passage between which is obstructed by more formidable obstacles. The Himmaleh here rears its barrier of eternal snow, to be penetrated only at a few points, and through the most formidable perils. Its recesses and bordering regions are occupied by a number of petty and turbulent states, among whom person and property can seldom be considered secure. Through all these difficulties, the Romish missionaries made repeated attempts to penetrate; and we shall draw from their archives some particulars of the passages achieved by them into these deep recesses of the Asiatic continent.

The first mission into Thibet was that undertaken in 1624 by ANTONIO D'ANDRADA, of the

order of the Jesuits, who was then resident at the court of the Mogul. Having reason to apprehend a difficulty in obtaining permission of the Great Mogul, he set out privately from Agra. In fifteen days he arrived at Serinagur, but found himself there in an awkward predicament. He appeared in a very suspicious light, being neither a native on pilgrimage, nor a merchant with goods; so that it seemed impossible to suppose him any thing but a Mogul spy, a character of which a peculiar dread was here entertained. He was apprehended, therefore, and carried before the king; but, after being detained five days, and undergoing several examinations, he and his companions were allowed to proceed.

The territory of Serinagur is described as merely a collection of paltry villages. The manners were different from those of India, and ruder. Notwithstanding the rocky and irregular character of the surrounding country, the natives went all barefooted. Their feet accordingly were chipped, and bore the marks of wounds, but were now in general become so callous that they could run on the sharpest rocks without injury. Before reaching Serinagur, they had begun to ascend the loftiest steeps of the Himmaleh. With diligence and gaiety they proceeded to climb mountains, which appeared to them the most lofty and broken of any in the world. Two days' travelling, from

morning to night, often did not enable them to pass one. The sides were steep, as if made perpendicular by art, and the road along them in many places so narrow, that the traveller cannot properly walk, but only move forwards, one foot always behind the other, and grasping with his hands at the shrubs and points of rock; the Ganges, which rolled beneath, increasing the fear by its echoes. The road, however, was not solitary, but diversified by numerous bands of pilgrims journeying to the holy shrines situated near the mysterious fountain-heads of the Ganges. These travellers, as there was not space for two abreast, walked in long rows one behind another, and raising loud continual cries of "Ye Badrinate, ye, ye," one beginning, and the other making response. With unspeakable horror the worthy fathers listened to these "cries of hell;" yet they were animated by seeing the zeal with which even children encountered these hardships in the service of false deities, and could not murmur at doing the same for the true one. They consoled themselves also by echoing, in as loud a tone, maledictions against this detested idol, which fortunately were not intelligible to those against whom they were directed, who, recognizing only the word Badrinate, probably imagined that they were swelling the chorus of praise. At every bowshot appeared sumptuous pagodas hung

with lamps, and containing various figures, “ all
“ abominable and ridiculous.” Numerous *Jogues*
(yogis or gosseins) also appeared, who, it was
judged, might more properly be called ministers
of the demon. One, in particular, had his hair
and nails so overgrown, and his face so hideous,
that they entertained serious suspicions of his be-
ing the devil himself in person. He remained
like a statue without moving or speaking, and
merely exhibited his foot to be kissed by his nu-
merous votaries. This, however, they were told,
was only a secondary character to another whom
the king had found in an excursion to the west,
whose hair was six feet long, and his nails three
feet, so that he no longer retained any semblance
of a human being ; consequently all India flocked
to revere him. This great man was invited to the
capital ; but on discussing the mode of convey-
ance, he declared that no other would become his
dignity, except either to ride in the royal carriage,
or to be borne on men’s shoulders. This speech
appeared to the monarch so fraught with pre-
sumption, that he determined to inflict a signal
chastisement. He ordered, therefore, his enor-
mous beard to be seized and cut off, and his nails
to be pared. The holy man, stripped of these
appendages, was like the sun shorn of his beams,
and could no longer command any portion of the
respect and admiration of mankind.

As the travellers proceeded, they found mountains full of shrubs, and bearing pines so straight and lofty, as to exceed the trees of Buen-Jesus at Goa. They had no fruit, but much more wood than those of Europe. They found also many pear trees loaded with green fruit, cinnamon trees, cypresses, limes, very large rose bushes with roses innumerable, many bramble-berries, some black like ours, others coloured like strawberries. One mountain was entirely covered with what he calls trees of Santo Tomé, without leaves, but so loaded with flowers, some white, others like those of India, and so entwined with each other and with the branches, that the whole appeared a mountain of flowers, or rather all one flower, and formed the most beautiful sight they had ever beheld. They passed the Ganges many times, at first over dangerous bridges of rope, but in the higher districts over the top of the snow which covered it, and beneath which they heard it frightfully roaring. Andrada was at first at a loss to understand how snow could fall in such masses as to vault so rapid a river, but he learned that it came down from the cliffs above, and became fixed and solid, leaving, however, apertures and concavities extremely dangerous, and which served to many as tombs.

Through these difficulties and hardships the travellers arrived at Bradid (Bhadrinath), where

they found the great pagoda, which formed the main object to those crowds of pilgrims with which the road had been covered. Here flowed many sacred streams, and particularly one, the bathing in which was supposed to purify the soul from all sin. Bradid was for nine months in the year completely covered and enclosed in snow; and during that period the inhabitants of the village went three or four days' journey lower to seek a more temperate climate. They were subject to Serinagur, but their manners were different, and still ruder. They ate flesh raw, and the boys sucked snow like sugar. When offered raisins, they tasted, then threw them away, crying for their snow. At the same time they were strong and healthy.

A few days now brought the travellers to the last inhabited village in the territory of Serinagur; but they were obliged to wait till the snows should melt from the vast desert which separates these lands from those of Thibet, at which time a caravan would arrive to cross it. The road thither, they were now informed, extended for twenty days' journey, during the whole of which there was not a single inhabitant, neither tree, nor herb, nor any thing to be seen, but vast overhanging mountains of snow. It was passable only for two months in the year, during which earth was seen along the skirts of the mountains,

and the snow, where it still lay, was at least so hard as to be easily trod upon. As the road afforded no wood, nor any kind of fuel, the only provision which could be made was toasted barley meal, which could be dissolved in water and drank without any use of fire. Andrada was also assured that vapours sometimes arose, which caused the traveller, without suffering any pain, to swoon and die. He justly conjectures, however, that this effect is merely produced by the excess of cold, especially when attended by a deficiency of food.

While Andrada was waiting the melting of the snows, and the arrival of the annual caravan, intelligence reached him, that the king of Serinagur had determined to put a stop to his proceeding farther. So enthusiastic and exalted was the zeal of our missionary, that he then determined to undertake alone this fearful and perilous journey. Early one morning, he and his three companions, with a bag of provisions, and a mountaineer whom they had engaged as a guide, took their secret departure. They had not gone far, however, when three mountaineers sent by the governor overtook them, and informed the guide that his wife and children had been thrown into prison, and that all his goods were seized, and he could save them only by instantly returning. They warned, moreover, the friars, that by pro-

ceeding they must inevitably perish, as the time was not yet come when it was possible for any one to pass the mountains. The guide turned back, but nothing could damp the ardour of Andrada. Having carefully informed himself as to the road, and all the marks by which it was distinguished, he determined upon the attempt to search it out by himself. The sufferings endured during this journey are described as almost beyond human endurance. The snow took them up usually to the knees, sometimes to the breasts and shoulders, and they were often obliged to throw themselves along as if swimming, that they might sink less deep. This toil, and the laborious leaps which it was needful to make, covered them with cold sweats. At night, having only snow to sleep upon, they laid one cloak below and two above ; but the snow fell so thick, that though touching, they could not see each other, and they were obliged to be always shaking their coverlets, that they might not be buried beneath it. The wind, at the same time, blew superlatively cold. They had a mortal loathing at food, such as they had never experienced in any disease, and which made eating be felt as a thing impossible ; yet it was above all things necessary that they should eat something, otherwise the cold could never be resisted. At length all feeling was lost in the hands and feet, so that

when an accident struck off a piece of Andrada's finger, he knew it by the bleeding only, not by any sense of pain; and afterwards, hot coals were applied to the feet without being felt. Andrada being the only one who retained any portion of vigour, he was obliged to dress and undress his companions, to cover and uncover them, and even put the meat into their mouths.

At length, through all these sufferings and privations, they reached the summit of the Himmaleh, and saw beneath their feet a great lake (probably the Mansarowar), which they supposed, though by mistake, to be the common source of the Ganges, and of another great stream that flowed through Thibet. The mountains were now passed, and the immense plain of Thibet lay stretched before them. But what was their horror, when, instead of any patent or accessible track, they saw, far as the eye could reach, only one unbroken sheet of snow. They had no longer any signal by which their course could be guided. Wherever they turned their eyes, they saw no path, no land-mark, nothing but an unvaried and boundless white. At this spectacle, their hearts died entirely within them. Andrada saw at last that it was vain to attempt dragging through his companions, but proposed that they should return, leaving him to search a way for himself. At this proposal, he says, all the three

began to cry like children. They appealed to himself whether it was possible for them to travel a day without his aid. He agreed therefore to return, and they made their way back through a train of similar hardships, somewhat mitigated, however, by the approach of a more genial season. Before reaching the village, they met persons who informed them that the King of Sirinagur had sent permission for them to proceed. Some rest, however, was necessary after such horrible fatigues; and they made use of this interval to send a messenger to the King of Thibet, announcing their intended visit. The king, hearing they were a sort of persons quite different from any he had yet seen, gave notice that they would be welcome. They made their journey well in the company of the caravan.

The missionaries, on their arrival in the capital of Thibet, which appears to have been Rodauk, received in the first instance as good a reception as they expected. A curiosity, however, was soon intimated to know what jewels or precious commodities they were about to present to his majesty. The missionaries replied, that they made a point of neither having nor giving any such article. This declaration gave rise to a sensible coldness, and Andrada could not for some time obtain an audience. At length he stated, that he had something to communicate which it deeply concerned

his majesty to know. On this ground, he obtained immediate access; and he then began a long speech, stating that he had come from Portugal, and undergone immense perils, solely with a view to the conversion of his majesty and subjects. He congratulated him, therefore, on the glorious opportunity now presented, which he earnestly exhorted him not to neglect. Andrada thinks it could have been only through the defect of his interpreter, that this speech failed of its intended effect, and was received with an extreme degree of coldness. They might have departed, therefore, without any result, had they not begun to exhibit some images of the Virgin, ornamented relics, and other splendid badges of the Catholic faith. The view of these caused a great revolution; and not only the king, but all the courtiers, shewed a readiness to accept them to a greater extent than the mission was able to supply. From admiring their beauty, the king was easily led to believe that they might serve as charms to secure victory in a war which he was about to undertake. He was then considered by the missionaries as more than half a Christian. They delayed his baptism, in order to leave still a motive to wish their return; and they then departed for Agra, proposing next season to recross the mountains; but this design was frustrated by a war which broke out between Sirinagur and Thibet.

Andrada was informed by various persons, that Thibet was a plentiful country ; but that which he saw round the capital was the most sterile he had ever beheld. It produced not a grain, fruit, or even a vegetable. Accordingly, it was believed by the Indians to be a vault thrown over hell. It abounded, however, with goats, sheep, and oxen ; but these animals could find food only for three months, and during the rest of the year were driven into lower pastures. There was no want of imported corn.

In regard to the spiritual state of Thibet, Andrada had often heard that the people were Christians, and the priests, taking advantage of the often observed resemblance between the ceremonies of Shamanism and the Catholic rites, maintained that such was really the case. In fact, they had the representation of a woman with an infant in her arms, which might pass for the virgin and child ; pieces of wood strung together in the manner of beads ; and numerous convents, where the *Lambas* or monks were devoted to celibacy. They had also orders, which took vows of poverty, and subsisted only upon alms. What raised most doubt in the mind of the fathers, was a grand ceremony, in which three figures, so hideous that they could be considered only as demons, were paraded through the city to a place without it, amid the sound of trumpets and tremendous shouts

from the multitude. On explaining their dissatisfaction, however, they were assured that this ceremony was not performed in honour of these hideous divinities, but was a form of ejecting them out of the city.

Some accounts represent Andrada as having returned into Thibet, and having even gone forward to China. His own statement, however, bears as above, that he was prevented by the war which broke out upon the road. I have not been able to find any authentic account of a subsequent voyage, and am persuaded that none such ever took place.

The next journey on record was also performed by Romish missionaries, and led through countries still more rarely visited by Europeans. In 1661, the Jesuit fathers, GRUEBER and DORVILLE, undertook to travel by land from the territory of China to that of the Great Mogul. They left Pekin in June, and came in a month to Siganfu, and in another month to Siningfu, a great and populous city, situated close to the Chinese wall, and forming the rendezvous of the mercantile caravans, who must stop here till they receive permission from the emperor to proceed farther. Leaving Siningfu, they crossed the Yellow river beyond the walls, and entered an immense and frightful desert, variously traversed by roving bands of the Kalmuc Tartars, conveying from

place to place their *hordas* or portable cities. This desert, though often mountainous, consists chiefly of barren sand, and only the banks of the rivers afford pasture sufficient for the flocks of those wanderers. Their predatory habits render it very necessary for the merchants to travel only in numerous and well armed caravans.

After three months employed in passing this wide tract of desert, to which they give the name of Tangut, the fathers arrived at Lassa, called Barantola by the Tartars. Here, during a stay of two months, they had an opportunity of beholding idolatry in its various forms, and its fullest empire. The king, Deva, was wholly infected by it, worshipping various idols, particularly one called Manipe, to whom the "foolish nation" were continually crying out, *Oh Manipe, mi hum*. Besides this temporal monarch, there was another, of whom he has things to relate which he fears will surpass all human belief. This is the Lama, or great chief of the Shaman religion, so celebrated in the annals of Eastern idolatry. Grueber gives an accurate account of the worship rendered to him, as he sits on an elevated throne in the interior of his palace, with numerous lamps burning around him; also of his supposed eternity, maintained upon the death of each incumbent by a pretended series of resuscitations. The present was the seventh that had taken place in the

course of a hundred years, which does not imply any great longevity on the part of these earthly divinities. The mission were struck with peculiar astonishment at the profound art of the devil, who had transferred to this eastern pontiff all those marks of worship and homage which were peculiarly due to the Pope. His votaries threw themselves on the ground, and kissed his feet, exactly in the manner that true Catholics do those of his Holiness. As the one was called the Great Father, and Father of Fathers, so the other was called the Great Lama, and Lama of Lamas. Nor did any king throughout all Tartary consider himself lawfully seated on his throne, till he had sent ambassadors with immense presents to the Great Lama, and obtained his benediction. But the missionaries were moved with the deepest affliction, when they beheld the natural excrements of this person brought out and sold at an enormous price to the deluded multitude, who having inclosed them in boxes, and tied them round their necks, imagined themselves thenceforth exempt from every human evil. The fathers were offered an audience, but finding that it could only be obtained upon the performance of certain idolatrous ceremonies, they were satisfied with contemplating a picture exhibited in the porch of the royal palace, and which was worshipped with almost similar reverence as the original.

Another superstition he mentions as prevalent throughout all Tangut. A boy called Buth, being equipped with sword, quiver, and arrows, and with numerous standards stuck in his vestments, and slung behind, sallied forth to kill at pleasure, and without resistance, all whom he encountered. The persons thus sacrificed were considered as peculiarly fortunate, and thenceforth accounted holy.

Leaving Lassa, the travellers came to the foot of the mountain *Langur*, by which they evidently designate a part of the Himmaleh range. They describe it as the loftiest in the world, so that the air at its summit is so thin as to render it scarcely possible to breathe. The road, too, lying over rocks and tremendous precipices, cannot be passed by waggons, or even cattle, and is accessible only for foot travellers. Plants were reported to grow there, the exhalations of which produced death; probably an erroneous solution of the fatal effects occasionally resulting from the excess of cold. The region, however, abounded both with cold and warm springs, which were often found very refreshing to travellers; nor was pasture wanting in particular spots. After scaling this tremendous barrier, they reached Cuthi, and in five days Nesti, being the first towns of Nekbal (Nepal). They found here a fruitful country, where forty fowls were sold for a *scudo*. From Nesti in five

days they came to Kadmendu (Kathmandu), the capital of Nepal. The fathers express much dissatisfaction with the aspect of the fair sex in this country, which appeared to them rather diabolical than human. No motive of religion ever induces the slightest application of water to any part of their persons ; instead of which they employ a species of putrid oil, the dirt and scent of which render them objects alike hideous and offensive. The painful impression made by the view of these ladies was, however, obliterated by their cordial reception from the king, obtained by the exhibition of an optical tube, and some other mathematical instruments, which so much delighted his majesty, that he had determined upon prohibiting them to leave his states. He was only induced to permit their departure, by the solemn promise, which these worthy persons appear to have intended to perform, that they would return and settle there ; when he promised them a handsome residence, and full liberty of preaching. Having effected their departure, they in one day reached the town *Nekbal* (Nepal) ; from *Nekbal* in five days *Hedonda*, said to form part of the kingdom of Maranga, of which Radoc (Rodauk) was the capital. In ten days more *Mutgari*, the first town of the Mogul empire, thence in ten days to Battana on the Ganges, then in eight days to Benares ; from Benares to Agra eighteen days.

The whole time spent in travelling from Pekin to Agra was 214 days, but the delay in waiting for the caravans raised the whole time employed in the journey to about a year and two months.

IN 1714, Father HIPPOLITO DESIDERI was despatched from Goa, to fill the office of missionary in Thibet. At Delhi he was joined by Manuel Freyre : they passed through Lahore on the 19th October, and in a few days arrived at the foot of the great border chain, to which he gives the name of Caucasus. He describes, in the most feeling manner, the hardships endured in the passage. After crossing one high mountain they came always in sight of another still higher ; the more they climbed, the more they found they had to climb. The most serious difficulty was in passing the numerous torrents, which rolled with such rapidity that it was scarcely possible to avoid being carried down by the torrent ; and Desideri had often no resource but to get himself tied to a cow's tail, and dragged over in the rear of that animal. His route, however, was occasionally enlivened by the view of enchanting vallies, covered with woods and varied cultivation, which lay along the foot of these immense ranges. At length they reached the highest pinnacle, which he says is named *Pir Pangial*, and is held in religious veneration by the Gentoos,

who perform various ceremonies in honour of an old man, who is said to be its guardian. On the 10th May they reached Cashmere, where our author was long confined with illness, and was obliged to wait six months, till the season allowed him to pass the still loftier range which separates Cashmere from the regions of Thibet. He learned that there were two countries known under this last name, one Little Thibet or Baltistan, immediately bordering on Cashmere, the other Great Thibet, or Buton, lying much farther to the east, and frequented by caravans for the sake of obtaining the fine wool employed in the manufacture of Cashmere shawls. It was to this last Thibet that he directed his course. On the 17th May he set out for Leh or Ladak, and after seven days' pretty easy travelling, began to ascend a mountain covered with snow, which he calls Kantel. The whole road from this to Ladak consisted of frightful mountains piled over each other, and forming, he says, a complete image of gloom, horror, and death. From their summits torrents were continually dashing with a roar so tremendous as to stun and terrify the boldest travellers. The rocks are so barren that they do not afford a shrub, or even a blade of grass, by which the passenger can take hold. It is impossible to walk either along the top or bottom of the mountains, and the traveller can only make his way

along their steep sides, by a path which scarcely allows space for the foot ; and in case of slipping he plunges among precipices, with the certainty of broken bones, if not of being dashed to pieces. These mountains were only separated by impetuous torrents, in crossing which he had not even a cow to whose tail he could adhere, and was obliged, after uncovering his feet, to trust them upon little planks that trembled beneath his weight. In addition to this, they had to encounter furious winds and tempests of snow, and had no place of rest but in the open air. His eyes also were so severely incommoded by the snow, that he was obliged to keep them shut, unless so far as was absolutely necessary to see his way. Upon the whole, he says, that he could never cast an eye back on this journey, without shuddering with horror.

The country between Mount Kantel and Ladak is subject to an absolute sovereign, called *Ghiampo*. The winter which reigns here is almost perpetual, and the tops of the mountains are always covered with snow. The houses are small, and composed of stones rudely piled over each other ; the dress is composed entirely of woollen. The people are less superstitious than most other Gentoo nations. They reject the metempsychosis, and the duty of abstinence from flesh, those leading tenets of the Hindoo de-

votee; and they do not practise polygamy. Their priests or lamas observe the tonsure and celibacy, like those of the church of Rome; and, like them also, usually live in communities together. They use a sort of bead-roll, on which they pronounce the words, *om, ha, hum*; which three mysterious terms combined signify the Deity. They considered the missionaries as lamas of a different religion, and expressed great willingness to hear their doctrine, provided there had been any understanding of each other's language; but the total ignorance which prevailed on both sides of course, precluded all chance of converts.

While Desideri remained at Ladak, accounts were received of a third Thibet, placed at an immense distance, through deserts continually exposed to the incursion of the Tartars. Our author himself was excessively inclined to remain where he was; but the rest of the party, animated by the prospect of danger and hardship in so good a cause, determined on setting out for Lassa. This is described as a journey of six or seven months; and accordingly it employed them from August 1815 to March 1816. How they could consume such a length of time in travelling eight or nine hundred miles, is not very comprehensible; indeed this triple designation of Thibet seems to exist only in their own imagination, for Ladak belongs more properly to Little Thibet, while

the region of which Lassa is the capital can alone be called Great Thibet or Bhotan. Be this as it may, it is much to be regretted that they should have transmitted no details of a route never traversed by any other European. Desideri contents himself with saying, “ I leave you to judge “ what I had to suffer during this journey, amid “ the snows, ice, and the excessive cold which “ reigns amid these mountains.” On arriving at Lassa, they were dragged before the tribunals on account of some affair, concerning the nature of which a mysterious silence is observed ; however, the king at last ordered that they should be no farther molested. He expressed also a wish to have them introduced to him, dispensing with the absence of any valuable present. They were well received ; but here our missionary breaks off his narrative abruptly, without giving any important particulars of the country and territory.

THE Romish Indian church appears to have exerted considerable activity in following up the opening which appeared to be afforded in the countries to the north of India. A body of twelve missionaries, with Friar HORACE de la PENNA at their head, were sent into Thibet. They remained for a number of years ; during which time nine of the twelve died. Horace then returned to Goa, and from thence to Rome, where a narrative of his mission was drawn up ; not, however,

by himself, but by the Congregation of the Propaganda from his report. Hence it relates much less either to the incidents of the journey, or the description of the country, than to the state and prospects of the mission; and even on this subject it seems very doubtful to what extent it may be relied upon. The general tone would represent Thibet as almost wholly converted to the Christian faith. They quote even letters and patents, which are certainly couched in a very friendly tone. When closely examined, however, they are found to contain mere vague expressions of favour to the missionaries, and permission to exercise and preach their religion. It is admitted, that every proposition made to embrace it was politely evaded.

Horace represents Thibet as of such vast extent, that its population could not be estimated at less than thirty-three millions. He makes the same remark as other missionaries, of the religion of the Lamas appearing almost a counterpart of the Romish. The circumstance, that one man marries only one wife, is mentioned as favourable to the progress of Christianity. Here, however, a commentator remarks, that a most serious counterpoise exists in the custom, by which one lady may marry three, four, or five husbands; and he infers, that the whole sex would rise in arms against any missionary who should debar them from so important a privilege.

CHAPTER X.

TRAVELS THROUGH CENTRAL ASIA AND THE GREAT DESERT.

*Itinerary of Pegoletti—Johnson—Chesaud—Goez—Gerbillon—
Recent information by British Embassies.*

WE have had repeated occasion to notice the eager activity with which the early Europeans sought a commercial route into China through the heart of Central Asia. Even after the discovery of the Cape, it was some time before they became sensible that no commodities could pay so immense a land-carriage, with perils from so many barbarous nations, when there existed the means of transporting them by sea. So early as 1335, PEGOLETTI, an Italian, author of a System of Commercial Geography, described such a route from Tana or Azoph, the great Venetian emporium on the Black Sea; but what part of it, or whether any, was in the habit of being travelled by Europeans, seems very doubtful. From Tana they proceeded to Astrakhan, and along the northern shore of the Caspian, to Sara-

canco, now Saratschik, on the Yaik or Oural. Thence twenty days of travelling with camels brought them to Organci (Urghenz), where is said to be a considerable vent for commodities. From Urghenz they appear to have made the circuit of the Aral, till they came to Otrarra (Otrar), on the Sihon or Jaxartes. From Otrar they went in forty-five days to Armalecco, supposed by Forster to be Almalig, a town in the northern part of Turkestan; hence in seventy days to Camexu, which seems to be Khamil or Hami. In fifty days they then reached the Kara Mrin or Hoangho. At Cassia the merchant exchanged his silver for the paper money which was then current in China, and proceeded in thirty days to Gamalecco, the Cambalu of Marco Polo, and probably the modern Pekin.

While Jenkinson was at Bokhara, his companion Richard Johnson, sought out very diligently the road from thence to Cathaya. One Sarnichoke, a Tartar, gave him the following itinerary: Astrakhan to Serachicke, ten days; Urghenz, fifteen; Bokhara, fifteen; Caskar, thirty; Cathaya, thirty. From the same person he received a route of "another way more sure to travel," in which, however, I cannot discover any material difference. Bokhara is said to be the "meeting place between the Turkes and nations of those parts and the Cathayans." He adds,

“ that he hath heard that ships may saile from the
“ dominions of Cathaya into India ; but how the
“ seas lie by any coast he knoweth not.” He
concludes with a different route from Bokhara,
given to him by another Tartarian merchant.
This leads from Bokhara to Taskent (Taschkund),
fourteen days ; Occient, seven ; Caskar, “ the
“ head city or towne of a prince called Reshit-
“ can,” twenty ; Socieu, here elegantly metamor-
phosed into Sowchick, said to be the first border
of Cathay, thirty ; Camchu (Campion), five ;
Cathay, (by which he appears to mean the eastern
frontier) two months. Ten days short of it is
Cambaloo. He says also, “ this land of Cathay
“ they praise to be civil and unspeakably rich.”

After the extension of Indian navigation, and
the exclusion of England from the Caspian, the
route through Central Asia ceased to attract the
attention of commercial adventurers. This place,
however, was supplied, perhaps even with increas-
ed activity, by the Romish missionaries. The
first attempt to penetrate through these vast re-
gions was made by the French residency at Ispa-
han. About 1660, AMATUS CHESAUD, its supe-
rior, set out with the view of finding a route
through Tartary to Cathay, and thence to China,
supposed to be a different and more remote coun-
try. On reaching Balkh, however, and finding
that the road beyond was beset with difficulties

and dangers, our superior took fright, and determined upon making the best of his way back to Ispahan. He consoled himself with viewing the ruins of Bactria, and returning by Hayrat (Herat) saw the university founded by the son of Tamerlane (Schah Rokh). He went then to Mashabad (Mesched), called the Holy; and boasts much of the long disputations held by him with the Mahometan doctors on the subject of their religion and law. He then repaired by Daumghaun and Cashan to Ispahan. None of his brethren being endowed with any greater share of intrepidity, no farther attempts were made from the side of Persia.

FROM another quarter, more vigorous and successful efforts were made. The Consistory at Goa transmitted directions to BENEDICT GOEZ, who then resided at the court of the Mogul, to penetrate, if possible, into the country of Cathay. Goez entered on this undertaking with the advantage of being in favour with the Great Mogul, who gave him ample recommendations to the governors and princes of all that part of the road over which his dominions extended. Our missionary left Lahore in Lent 1603, and in a month arrived at Athek (Attok), where he crossed the Indus, and in another month arrived at Passaur (Peshawer), where he rested for twenty days.

Here he learned the existence, at thirty days' distance, of a city (properly country) called Caffrestan, inhabited by Pagans, and into which no Mahometan was allowed to enter, on pain of death; and the excellent wine which he tasted from this district, tended much to confirm this reported soundness of their faith. In performing their journey from Peshawer to Cabul, the caravan were obliged to apply for an escort of 400 soldiers, as a defence against the formidable bands of robbers who infested the range of rugged and precipitous mountains through which they had to travel. As the waggons could proceed only along the foot of these mountains, the robbers used to station themselves at the top, and roll down fragments of rock, which either crushed the travellers to pieces, or soon obliged them to surrender. To guard against these perils, the merchants and escort proceeded along the summits of these mountains, and cleared the way for the waggons, which were proceeding beneath. All these precautions did not save them from being attacked by the robbers, whom they beat off with difficulty and loss. Goez secured his personal safety during the skirmish, by taking refuge in a neighbouring wood.

In forty-five days the party arrived at Cabul, which they found a great city, and seat of trade, and where a large caravan was collected for the

purpose of proceeding to China. Here also Goetz met a princess of very high rank, sister to the king of Cashgar, and mother to the king of Koten. This lady had been impelled by religious fervour to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca; but on her return fell in with robbers, who stripped her so entirely of every thing, that she was in danger of starving. Having reached Cabul, she was negotiating with the merchants to supply her with the means of travelling, and subsistence on the road, on condition of receiving payment on her arrival at Koten. Our author, though he cannot forbear expressing his horror at the impious zeal which had prompted her to encounter so many dangers, judged that the affair might be turned to his private benefit. The friendship of the ruler of Koten, he thought, might be of essential use to him when he came to travel through those wild and remote regions of Central Asia. The merchants offered the advance only on condition of receiving principal, interest, and a large profit. Goetz voluntarily offered to give the money, upon the mere promise of repayment. This was most gratefully accepted; and he afterwards received, in addition to his loan, such ample presents as made the concern, on the whole, very profitable.

From Cabul the augmented caravan proceeded northwards to the kingdom of Cashgar. They

came in ten days to Parvam, the termination of the Mogul dominions ;—twenty, over high mountains, to Aingharan ;—fifteen, to Chalca, a country with numerous villages, the inhabitants of which have red hair and beards like the Germans ;—ten, to Gialababath ;—fifteen, to Talkan, a city belonging to the king of Samarcand. Here they learned that a large body of Kalchans had risen in arms against the king, and occupied the road by which they must pass. They proceeded, therefore, to seek shelter in a walled town called Kheman, but in their way they encountered the insurgent force. The chiefs, however, sent them notice that they were at liberty to pass on without the slightest molestation ; but the caravan, not chusing to place reliance on the promises of rebels, began preparations for an immediate retreat. The Kalchans seeing themselves treated as thieves, determined to act as such, and immediately began a hostile movement upon the caravan. The merchants, judging life more precious than glory, or even property, abandoned every thing, and saved their persons by flying into the depth of a neighbouring wood. The rebels, however, who do not seem to have had any predatory designs, contented themselves with picking out a few things which particularly pleased them, and then gave notice that the merchants might convey themselves and the rest of their effects within the

walls of the city, since they were resolved not to think themselves safe elsewhere. They entered Kheman, therefore, and remained for a long time in great fear, till one of the leading men in the garrison, having a brother in the rebel army, entered into a negociation, and at length obtained such assurances as encouraged them to proceed. They were accordingly permitted to pass through, having only their rear harassed by some straggling plunderers.

In eight days, the caravan came to Tenga Badascian (Badakshan), which is said to signify *bad road*, and to answer fully to the appellation. It consisted of a narrow track along the side of a steep rock, and overhanging a great river (the Oxus). They were moreover assaulted by thieves; and Goetz had three horses stolen from him. They came in one day to Ciarcunar; ten to Serpanil, and had then to climb a very lofty hill called Sakrithma. Twenty days brought them to a populous country called Sarchil, and two days more to the foot of a most formidable mountain, covered with perpetual snow (apparently the Mooz Tag). Six days were employed in crossing it; during which the intensity of the cold threatened to produce the most fatal effects. Several perished, and Goetz himself was several times alarmed for his own

life. Even after crossing this mountain, they had twenty days of very bad road before they arrived at Hircanda or Hiarcana (Yarkund), the court of the King of Cashgar, and the great emporium of the trade of Cathay with Southern and Western Asia. Great as had been the perils and difficulties of this road, those of the subsequent part of their journey were such, that it could be undertaken only by a caravan on the greatest scale; and it was necessary to wait a year before an adequate force could be collected. The chief product of this territory was a species of marble or jasper, beautifully varied with figures of men, flowers, leaves, and other objects. This stone was found in the bank of the river Koteh, and on a high mountain called Consanguicaxo, situated at the distance of twenty stages from Yarkund. Goez repaired to Koteh, where he spent a month, entertained in the most courteous manner, and besides payment of the debt, was presented with a great quantity of this marble or jasper, which bears a very high price in the market of China.

During Goez's residence at Yarkund, he found himself held in much hatred, and sometimes exposed to considerable danger, in consequence of his Christian profession. One day, as he was sitting at table, a fellow rushed in with a naked dagger, and pointing it to his breast, called upon him instantly to invoke Mahomet, otherwise

the weapon would be sheathed in his breast. The company, however, started up and pushed this madman out of the house. Two or three of the citizens, thinking it meritorious to rob an infidel, broke into the house at night, and were with difficulty scared away. Goetz was also alarmed at being sent for by the King of Cashgar, to undergo an examination on the subject of his faith, and particularly his posture in prayer. He openly avowed his decisive opinion on the one subject, and his indifference as to the other; and though the point was warmly contested by the Mahometan priests, yet Goetz defended his cause so stoutly, that in the end it was declared he might possibly be in the right.

These were not the only perils to which our traveller was exposed by his dissent from the reigning faith; and he was assured, that his danger would greatly increase, as soon as he was out of the city along with the caravan; that he would not be departed three days till he would be killed. Goetz, however, having insinuated himself into the favour of the caravan Basha, undertook the journey without much apprehension. They travelled in twenty-five days by a stony and sandy road to Acisu, a town of Cashgar, governed by a nephew of the king, twelve years old, whose tutor managed the affairs of the state. Goetz having presented the youthful sovereign with toys and sweetmeats,

soon found himself in high favour. He was not only protected, but was invited to a splendid festival signalized by various feats, and particularly dancing. When this was over, the prince earnestly requested that the missionary would favour him with a specimen of his mode of performing that exercise, and though this exhibition did not quite harmonize with the gravity of his character, he deemed it unwise, for so small a matter, to compromise his acceptance with this youthful potentate.

After fifteen days' stay at AcSU, our traveller departed, and came by Kasha, another dependency of Cashgar, and governed by a natural son of the sovereign. This chief gave him a very rough reception, expressing much surprise that an infidel should enter his country, and warning him, that not only his goods, but his life, would justly be the forfeit. However, upon seeing the credentials from Yarkund and Koteu, his wrath subsided, and he agreed to accept the offered presents. Yet Goez one evening suddenly received orders instantly to repair to the palace, upon which the guide burst into tears, thinking his last hour was come. However, this was merely to hold a conference with a number of Mahometan doctors and learned men; against whom, however, he maintained his point in so animated a manner, as to make the king entirely his friend. He remain-

ed here three months, during which time tidings arrived from the Chinese missionaries, which gave him reason to think that Cathay, of which he was in search, was no other than China, and that Cambalu was Pekin.

Departing from Cialis, the caravan proceeded to Puchan, Turfan, a well fortified city, Aramuth, Kamul (the Chinese Hami), Chiaicuon (Khya-yu-quan), situated close to the wall of China. This part of their journey was performed under great fear, on account of the predatory Tartars, who were continually on the watch for such a prize. To escape these marauders, they concealed themselves during the day, and at evening took a survey from a high hill of the country before them, when, if the coast appeared clear, they proceeded through the night in deep silence. The Tartars held all the beasts belonging to the caravans as their property, and the drivers as their shepherds and servants. To restrain their inroads, however, the Chinese have built the strong cities of Kancheu and Socheu, the Kampion and Succuir of Marco Polo.

Goez, on his arrival at Socieu, ascertained, beyond all doubt, that Cathay and China were one and the same country. Notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of his journey, he found himself at the end of it a rich man. He had thirteen horses, five servants, and two boys, with great store of

the precious marble; the whole valued at two thousand five hundred ducats. It was now, however, that his troubles began. He could not obtain permission to proceed to Peking, and was obliged to sell his goods below their value for the present subsistence of himself and servants; he was also obliged to spend much in entertaining the chiefs of the caravan. In the course of a year, the greater part of his property being consumed, he was taken ill, and died, not without some suspicion of poison. Unfortunately, too, his journal could never be obtained; the narrative which has been circulated being drawn up from some imperfect notes, combined with the report of Isaac the guide.

WHILE the French missionaries were in favour at the court of China, their opportunities of observation were not confined to the interior of that vast empire. Several of them accompanied the emperor's journeys and embassies into Western Tartary, through the countries of the Mongols and Kalkas. Of these GERBILLON, in particular, has left some notices that are by no means devoid of interest.

The first journey was in the train of an embassy sent to adjust the terms of a treaty with the Russians on the banks of the Selingha. It consisted of two grandees, with several mandarins, Gerbil-

lon acting as interpreter. They came soon to the great wall, which they found here carried along the sides of high mountains. It was in general both lofty and thick, built of freestone, with stairs to ascend, and fortified with towers. These mountains were cultivated as highly as the soil could possibly admit, being in many places formed into terraces. Travelling for some time along the wall, they found at every gate a town or village, well fortified and guarded. After proceeding fifty miles further they came to another wall, but neither so high nor so strong as the one already passed ; being in many places built only of earth. After passing a gate between two steep and rocky mountains, they found themselves in Tartary, and saw before them a country well watered, and with excellent pasture, but without a tree. In about ten days they came to Quawha-chin, called by the Tartars Khukhu-hotun, once a Mongol capital, but now an inconsiderable place. On going to the principal temple, they found one of those immortal Lamas, called by the Chinese the *living Fo*, who are supposed at the death of one body to pass immediately into another, and thus never leave the place vacant. This counterfeit immortal was a young man about twenty-five, with a very long and flat face. He was seated in an alcove, and wore a large mantle of the finest yellow damask, so that only

his head could be seen, which was bare. The ambassadors fell thrice prostrate, beating the ground with their foreheads ; in return for which he merely stood up, laid his hand on their heads, and allowed them to touch his bead-roll. Dinner was served, but the beef was so raw and tough, that the missionaries could not get over a morsel. The greatest honour, however, was done to it by the Chinese and Tartar guests. The liquor was tea ; and the Chinese, at the beginning and end of every draught, made a low bow to the mock divinity, to which he never deigned any return. He maintained during the whole visit the strictest gravity, giving only a few monosyllabic answers, in a low voice, to questions which the ambassadors addressed to him. In going through the chambers of the temple, they found a boy of seven or eight dressed and seated like the chief Lama, and seemingly under rehearsal for acting his part in case of a vacancy. In the evening they took a formal leave of the pretended god, who then made not the least motion or return of civility. One of the ambassadors, however, during their stay, had a private conversation with this living idol, who confidentially stated to him, that he was fully assured, indeed, by his courtiers, and by the head of the religion in Thibet, of his having passed through many successive lives ; yet that he him-

self had not the slightest conception how he could have ever existed in any other body than his present one; and that, of all the events of which they were continually reminding him, as having passed in his former states of existence, he had never been able to call up the faintest recollection.

After passing this city, the embassy entered a country, some parts of which afforded good pasture, but great tracts were covered with sand. The whole soil was impregnated with nitre, which appeared on the surface, and to which they attributed the extreme cold felt even in this moderate latitude. After a few days they met a Mongol Prince or Regulo, with ten or twelve attendants, whose attire bespoke the extremest poverty. He was said to have two or three thousand subjects spread over this extensive desert, on detached spots, with seldom more than four or five families together. They brought presents of beef, mutton, and milk preserved in dried skins, forming their greatest luxuries, though the first view of them was sufficient to divest the embassy of all appetite.

Continuing their journey through these dreary regions, they came to the country of the Kalkas. There they found a camp commanded by a brother of the emperor, as they are pleased to term him, and who were flying before their neighbours

the Eluths, with whom they were at war. This main force of the Kalka empire consisted of about thirty or forty tents, the tenants of which appeared the most dirty and hideous personages our traveller had ever seen, unless among the natives of the Cape. In proceeding northwards the country became always more frightful and desolate. Besides being sandy, it was rugged and uneven, so that their journey became very laborious. The track appeared also strewed with the dead bodies of horses and cattle, which had perished from thirst. It was therefore a grateful occurrence when a messenger arrived from the emperor desiring them to return, lest they should be involved in danger by the war between the Eluths and the Kalkas. On reaching the frontier they met his majesty engaged in a hunting expedition. He was eagerly engaged in this amusement, and lived, in the most simple manner, in a tent resembling a great wooden cage, covered with coarse Chinese stuffs.

Gerbillon made afterwards a number of excursions into Tartary, in company with the emperor or his grandees. These expeditions, however, were chiefly for the purposes of hunting, and none of them carried him so far as that which we have now detailed. From them it appears, that though the emperor has been pleased to confer the epithet of Chinese upon a vast expanse of Southern

and Western Tartary, his authority in those regions is very faintly recognized. Thus we find the Eluths of their own movement making war upon the Kalkas, and rendering it necessary for him to recal his ambassadors; and they are forced at last to return, not by any mandate of his, but by an inroad of their neighbours from another quarter. Even the petty Mogul princes must be secured in their allegiance by the payment of a salary, which, though small, constitutes the principal part of their slender revenue. The Eluths, it is true, having afterwards assembled a greater force, and approached the frontier, a Chinese army was levied, which defeated and compelled them to accept terms of peace.

IN the course of the last century, Europeans having either given up or been disappointed in all attempts to open an inland trade through Asia, lost sight almost entirely of its central regions. It is only of late that the inquiries of the intelligent officers employed in the missions to Persia and Cabul, has supplied some information relative to the tracts intervening between those countries and Asiatic Russia. Here, it appears, a revolution has taken place, which, as it stopped at the great border chain of mountains, and did not affect the destiny of the southern empires, has attracted little of the notice of history. The

magnificent plains upon the Oxus and Jaxartes had become an object of avidity to the inhabitants of more rugged and northern climates. The Uzbecks, a people of the widely extended Turk race, but whose original seat is not precisely ascertained, poured down, not an army, but the whole mass of their people, at once to conquer and inhabit these regions. Accordingly, the whole population, not only of Great Bucharia, but of Balkh, and other countries as far south as the foot of the Hindoo Coosh, is now Uzbek.

The Uzbecks, like other Turks, by no means present the hideous aspect of other Tartar races, particularly the Mongol. Their beauty is even celebrated by the Persian poets, though it does not appear very striking to an European eye. Their political constitution is very different from that which usually prevails in so simple a state of society. It is an unmixed and absolute despotism. This is probably connected with the military array in which they first entered the country, and which, with all the forms of a camp, still continues unaltered. In Bokhara, the men are said to be formed into messes of ten each, who have a boiler, a tent, and a camel betwixt them. The only power which can rival that of the monarch is the Ulema, or heads of the Mahometan law. The Uzbecks, on entering upon their new possessions, have adopted, in its fullest

extent, the Koran as their guide, not only in matters of faith, but of civil government and domestic life. The revenue is collected exactly in the proportions prescribed by that book, and one-tenth of it is bestowed in alms. The drinking of wine, or even the smoking of tobacco, is considered a crime almost equal to fraud or robbery. The reigning king, at the time of Sir John Malcolm's visit to Persia, had raised himself to the throne by abstinence, prayer, fasting, and the other observances which combine to form the character of a Mussulman saint. He assumed the title of Commander of the Faithful, and spends part of every day in teaching the Mahometan religion, and part of every night in prayers and vigils. The present ruler of Balkh always walks in the street, lest, if he rode, his feet might become higher than the heads of other believers.

The original dwellings of the Uzbecks appear to have been tents formed of a lattice of thin lath, covered with black felt. These are called *onool*, and from twenty to fifty compose a camp. At present, in all the more fertile and southern regions, a great proportion of the inhabitants reside in cities and houses. The chief pride and property of the Uzbecks consists in their horses. There is scarcely any man so poor as not to have one, or to be reduced to the necessity of traveling on foot. Being alike active, hardy, and

skilful, they make the best light cavalry in the world. In battle, they charge with frightful shouts in three successive lines ; but once repulsed, they are totally defeated. These horses, next to the Arabian, are the best in Asia, and composed formerly an extensive object of exportation to India. They are bought in a lean state in the markets of Bokhara and Balkh, where they sell from L.5 to L.100, and are fattened on their way in the rich pastures of Caubul. The demand in India, however, has greatly diminished, in consequence of the reduction of those tribes whose force consisted in predatory cavalry ; and if the Company should succeed in their plan of establishing studs, it will be entirely annihilated. Horse flesh is considered as the greatest of delicacies ; but its price is such, that unless on rare occasions, it can appear only at the tables of the great. The most valued liquor, also, is koumiss, or fermented mare's milk ; in regard to which even the Mahometan law is forced to abate somewhat of its rigour. It is not, however, publicly sold, but is privately manufactured and consumed.

Nothing can be more barbarous than the laws of war among the Uzbecks, who usually make an indiscriminate massacre of the conquered people. Such a violence is but too common among migratory tribes, who seek to make room for themselves

by the extirpation of the former inhabitants. It admits of exception only in the case of infidels, who may lawfully be sold as slaves, and who are daily exhibited like cattle in the markets of Balkh and Bokhara. The true believers, to whom such an indignity cannot be offered, enjoy the privilege of falling by the sword. Yet the Uzbecks are said, in their domestic state, to be by no means a wicked, or even a turbulent people. Quarrelling among themselves is rare, and murder scarcely known. They are said even to be hospitable to strangers, and in comparison of other Asiatics, honest and sincere. They have not even crushed that moderate portion of civilization, which has long been the share of this part of the continent. Bokhara contains 80,000 inhabitants, has numerous caravanseras for the accommodation of merchants, and contains a great number of colleges, supported either by the king or by private foundations, and in some of which six hundred students may be accommodated. It is true, the sciences cultivated are almost exclusively those of theology and Mahometan law; yet, notwithstanding the fanatical attachment of the people to the Mussulman faith, all religions are here tolerated.

Samarcand, the once mighty capital of Timur, is now in a state of extreme decay. Under Murad Bey, however, its present ruler, it is be-

ginning to revive. The beauty of its environs, and the excellence of its fruits, are extolled in the same lofty terms as by Abulfeda and Clavijo. The splendid cities which the Arabian writers describe upon the Jaxartes, appear still to exist. Khojund is said to be larger than Samarcand, and its environs truly delightful. Koukan is larger than Khojund, and the residence of a sovereign who reigns over most of this fine country. All the region to the east of the great range of mountains prolonged northwards from the Beloor, is now subject to China; and an *Amdan* or vice-roy resides at Cashgar. Yarkund, however, is now the chief emporium of this part of Asia.

CHAPTER XI.

VIEW OF GEOGRAPHICAL SYSTEMS RELATIVE TO ASIA.

Imperfect knowledge of the Ancients.—Homer.—Herodotus.—Eratosthenes.—Position of Thincæ.—Ptolemy.—The Seres and Sinæ.—Palibothra.—The Arabians.—Crusades.—Tartary.—Karrakorum.—Portuguese Navigators.—Early Modern Geographers.—The Russians.—Chinese Missionaries.—Recent British Missions.

THE greatest progress which the ancients made either by land or sea, scarcely enabled them to trace one-half of the continent of Asia; and at their farthest limit, there remained always a vast extent of territory unexplored. Of the shores situated upon the Pacific and Northern Oceans, scarcely the faintest rumour seems ever to have reached them. Yet so unwilling is the human mind to confess its own ignorance, or to acquiesce in any limited and partial view of the objects of its inquiry, that successive geographers undertook, from the slender materials in their possession, to make out a full delineation. To trace the origin and outline of these systems, as well

as to examine some of the great geographical problems which have arisen in regard to Asia, will afford materials for the present chapter.

THE Asia of HOMER, who exhibits to us the primitive geography of the Greeks, was of very limited dimensions, scarcely extending beyond the modern Asia Minor. Colchis, situated on the eastern shore of the Euxine, was lost in obscure and fabulous distance. The ocean was supposed, with its huge arms, wholly to encircle the earth; a natural creed in the inhabitants of a country composed entirely of coasts, islands, and peninsulas. There appears reason to suspect, that the Caspian, faintly intimated, may have been viewed as forming a part of this great circumambient ocean. The name of Asia, as a continent, was unknown to Homer, who applied it only to a small part of the coast of Caria, immediately opposite to Greece; whence it was gradually transferred by Europeans to the whole of this vast region of the globe.

ON the subject of the Asiatic geography of HERODOTUS, there is little to add to what is said in the first chapter. That illustrious writer describes the countries treated of merely as an historian and traveller—as they were observed by himself, or described to him by others. Being

neither a mathematician nor astronomer, he did not attempt to arrange these details into a regular system. Asia, in his eyes, was a region of very limited extent; since, even when united to Africa, it did not appear to him to equal the length of Europe. I have elsewhere, however, had occasion to observe, that this was little more than a nominal error, occasioned by his considering the whole of Scythia, to its farthest known limit, as forming part of Europe. On this principle, he considers Asia as bounded on the north by the Caspian, on the east by India, and on the south by the Erythræan or Indian Sea. Scylax, in sailing round from the Indus to the Arabian Gulf, appears to him to have circumnavigated the whole southern shore of the continent. Beyond India, indeed, which, with him, includes only the most western provinces of Indostan, he admits that there is something; but he conceives this to consist only of deserts, about which no one knew any thing, and which he seems even to decline considering as part of Asia. Amid these limited views, however, he distinguishes himself on one point by a degree of information superior to that possessed by his more learned and systematic successors. He expressly describes the Caspian as a sea surrounded on all sides by land, and assigns, with very tolerable accuracy, its form and dimensions; points which afterwards

became the subject of long and complete misapprehension.

It was subsequent to the expedition of Alexander, that geography first began to assume a regular and systematic form. We have already seen the anxiety shown by that prince, to render his victorious career subservient to the purposes of science. The commanders and engineers who accompanied his march, composed itineraries or descriptions of the countries through which they passed, but without any attempt to arrange them in a systematic form. That task was reserved for ERATOSTHENES, who, as keeper of the immense library collected at Alexandria by Ptolemy Philadelphus, had access to all the information collected during this expedition, and probably all the materials then existing which could throw light on the geography of Asia. Posterity are certainly indebted to him for the commencement thus given to an important science. At the same time, in thus attempting to delineate the outline of the three continents, at a time when, excepting the west of Europe, their boundaries had not been reached in any direction, he could not hope to escape the most extensive errors. The farthest sea known by him to the eastward, was that which washes the coast of Coromandel, and into which the Ganges, recognized as the

greatest river of India, was rather presumed than known to discharge itself. From this point, the coast in the system of Eratosthenes is made for a great space to follow always a northerly direction ; it then turns westward, and continues in this direction along the shore of the Frozen Ocean, till it joins the northern coast of Europe. An outline is thus formed of the continent, which appears at first sight not very inaccurate. Examination, however, shows the limited nature of the information upon which Eratosthenes proceeded. The Ganges, in his system, is made to fall into the Eastern Ocean, which bounded on this side the habitable world ; and its mouth was thus placed altogether, or nearly, at the farthest extremity of Asia. On the north, again, the bounding coast cuts off the whole of Asiatic Russia, since it is made to pass by a latitude very little higher than the Caspian, with which it is even connected by a strait, the form and position of which are evidently suggested by the broad mouth of the Volga. Upon this hypothesis, reports were even circulated of an imaginary voyage, supposed to have been performed by Patroclus, the admiral of Seleucus, who setting out from the Indian Sea, performed the circuit of Asia, till he entered the Caspian. In pointing out these great and palpable errors, M. Gosselin makes no hesitation in concluding, that this outline of Asia was drawn

completely at hazard, by a gratuitous extension of the features already known. There may be room to hesitate in acceding to the full extent of this conclusion. Although the Greeks did not penetrate beyond the frontier of India and Scythia, they spent some time in the vicinity of Bactria, a place which has always maintained commercial relations with the remotest extremities of the continent. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that some rumour of the terminating ocean to the north and east may have reached them, without their being able to form any distinct or adequate idea of the extent of the intervening countries.

Although not much more than a third of Asia was thus known to or delineated by Eratosthenes, it yet happened that the dimensions assigned to it, as to length at least, were nearly equal to those which our extended knowledge has justified us in assigning to the whole continent. This length was measured upon a parallel, called the *diaphragm* of the earth, and which holds, in his system, the same conspicuous place, which the parallel of the equator occupies in modern geography. It is not, however, the equatorial line, which was included within the limits, then supposed unapproachable, of the torrid zone. It was placed upon the parallel of Rhodes, fixed with sufficient accuracy in lat. $36^{\circ} 21'$. From Rhodes he draws it through Issus, Amisus, the Caspian gates, and Bactria, to

the sources of the Indus. This last may be considered as an ideal position, identified as to longitude with the general course of the Indus, then supposed to rise from the Himmaleh mountains, and flow southwards through its whole course. The supposed difference of longitude between Rhodes and the Indus, is skilfully calculated by M. Gosselin from the data of Eratosthenes, at about fifty-four degrees; whereas the real difference is only about forty-two. From causes, some of which have been examined elsewhere, there was a tendency to exaggeration in all distances, and particularly those of remote and imperfectly explored countries. From the Indus, however, to Thinæ, situated on the Eastern Ocean at the extremity of Asia, the distance is only twenty-eight degrees instead of nearly fifty. It does not, however, certainly follow that Thinæ did not exist, at least in the situation assigned to it by Eratosthenes. The same observation may be made, as in the case of the eastern and northern coasts of Asia. The name of a great capital placed in this remarkable situation, might penetrate through the darkness which enveloped the intermediate regions; and being known, while the intervening space remained unknown, might be supposed much nearer than it really was.

But where, then, and what was *Thinæ*, that city so celebrated in antiquity, as forming the

eastern boundary of the habitable world? There can be no doubt as to the Thinæ of Ptolemy; it was a city of Siam, situated near its western coast, washed by the Indian Sea. But how can this be reconciled with the description of Eratosthenes, who places it at the extremity of Asia, with an ocean on the east? According to M. Gosselin, Eratosthenes merely heard of a great city, situated in a remote part of the coast beyond India; and believing that this coast, following the direction of that of Coromandel, stretched always northward, necessarily placed Thinæ to the north of the Ganges, instead of the east and south; while the same cause obliged him to place it on an eastern ocean instead of a western. On the other hand, Dr Vincent insists, not only that Eratosthenes could scarcely have committed so enormous and palpable a blunder, but that his view of the subject is supported by statements made by the author of the *Periplus*, who, as a merchant, was not here likely to be mistaken. This writer relates, that caravans from Thinæ came regularly by the way of Bactria to Barygaza (Baroach), a land communication which still exists. The chief commodity brought by them was silk, then the exclusive produce of China. There is also in the same narrative an account of a trade between the people of Thinæ and a nation who, by the description, are evidently Tartars. From

these circumstances Dr Vincent infers, that the Thinae of Eratosthenes and the Periplus, notwithstanding its inadequate distance from India, cannot well be any other than the capital of China.

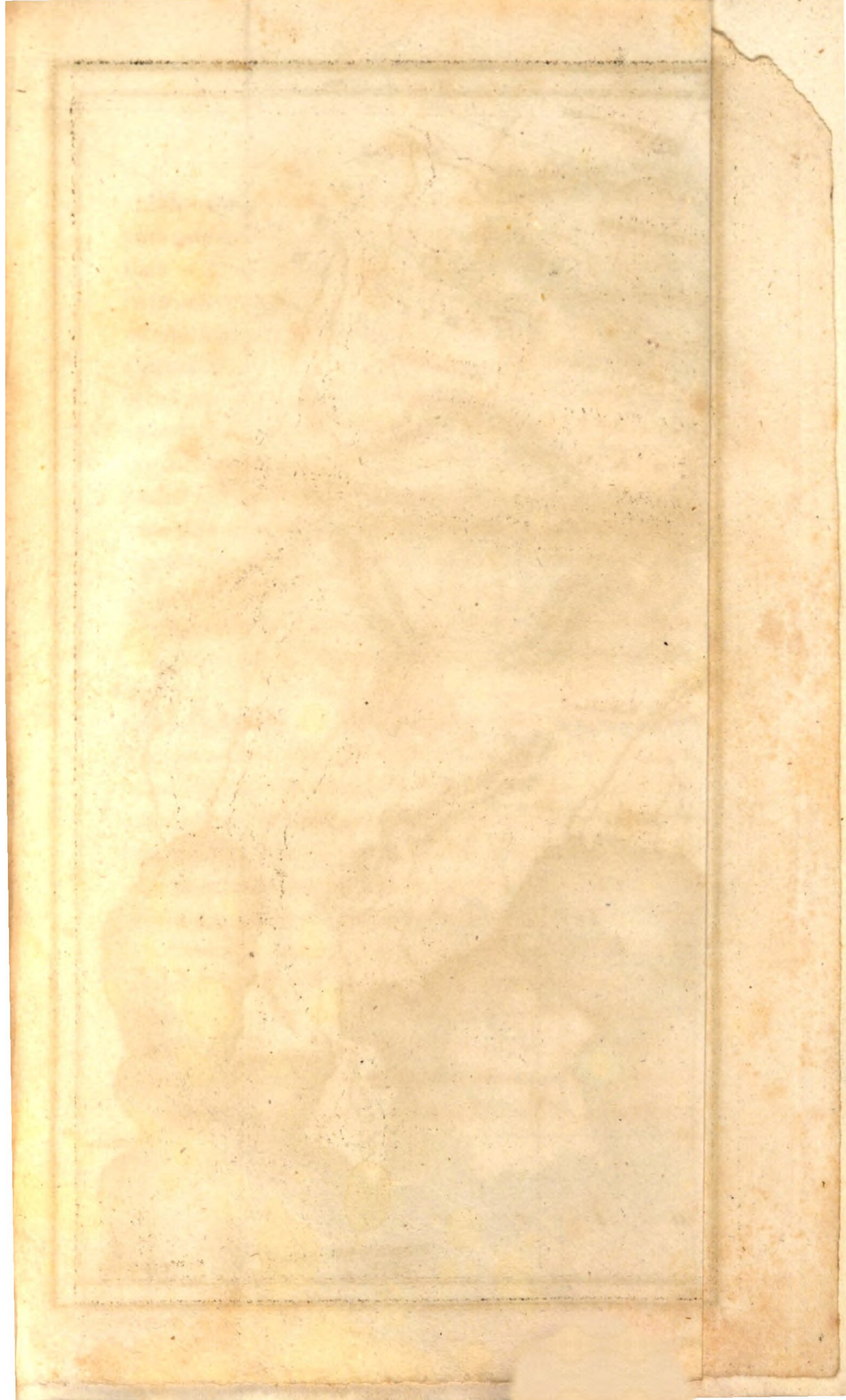
In this state of the question I shall hazard a conjecture, which does not seem to have occurred to former inquirers ; and which, however difficult it must be to arrive at any positive conclusion on subjects involved in such a depth of antiquity, may at least present some curious coincidences. I wish to point out the city of Tsinan, the principal town in the Chinese province of Shantung, and described by Duhalde as not only a great and populous city, but as an ancient capital of the empire ; this fact being attested by the tombs of numerous monarchs situate in its vicinity. The name, though it may be considered quite the same, (*th* and *s* in Greek being convertible), forms yet its smallest point of coincidence with that celebrated boundary of ancient knowledge. For, in the first place, it is precisely in the latitude assigned by Eratosthenes to Thinae. This latitude is the same as that of the great parallel by which he measures the length of the world, and is placed by him in the thirty-sixth degree, or more properly, Rhodes being understood as the standard, $36^{\circ} 20' \text{ N.}$ According to the observations of the missionaries, Tsinan is in lat. $36^{\circ} 44'$; a difference not to be regarded. But I have to

state another coincidence, which may perhaps astonish those who have taken any interest in those discussions: It is, that Tsinan is precisely in the *longitude* assigned by Eratosthenes to Thinæ. This, as brought out by M. Gosselin, is $126^{\circ} 25' 57''$ east from the meridian of the sacred Cape of Iberia (Cape St Vincent). Tsinan, according to the observations of the missionaries, is E. from Pekin, - - - $0^{\circ} 39' 0''$
 Pekin is E. from London, - $116^{\circ} 27' 30''$
 Cape St Vincent W. from London, $8^{\circ} 59' 26''$

$126^{\circ} 5' 56''$

I do not wish to conceal all that is mysterious in this coincidence. As all the other Asiatic longitudes of Eratosthenes are erroneous, and more particularly that between the Indus and Thinæ, this result could not have been derived from any data collected by himself. It can only be accounted for upon the hypothesis of M. Gosselin, though leading to an inference so opposite to that of the learned author. This hypothesis supposes, that in the early Asiatic empires there existed a system of astronomical observation much superior to what the Greeks then possessed, and rivalling the perfection of modern science. Maps or documents founded upon these observations, are supposed to have been found by Alexander in the archives of the Asiatic empires, and to have thus

come under the view of Eratosthenes, who used without fully understanding them. Without entering into M. Gosselin's view of the precise nature of the errors committed, and of the delicate process by which he seeks to efface them, I shall only suggest the probability, that these documents may have contained a more precise expression of the proportion of the earth occupied by this grand line, measuring its whole known extent, than with regard to the partial spaces intervening; or that Eratosthenes, in the last case, may have preferred the less perfect data furnished by the observation of his own countrymen. One scarcely dares to conceive how, at this early period, so immense a line, embracing more than a third of the circumference of the globe, could have been measured with such extreme accuracy: Yet it is surely very remarkable, that along with the precise name of Thinæ, we should have also the precise longitude, the precise latitude, the precise position, and that in a city which was, at a remote period, the capital of China. The existence of such an observation, could it be considered as proved, would certainly open a striking vista into the deepest abysses of ancient science. I do not wish, however, on so mysterious a question, to urge any absolute conclusion; but rather to submit the facts now stated to those whose leisure and opportunities may enable them to investigate the subject more deeply.





The system of Eratosthenes, after a lapse of two centuries, was succeeded and superseded by that of PTOLEMY, which seems itself to have been little more than a correction of the previous one of Marinus of Tyre. This system exhibits a considerable extension of information, produced chiefly by the peaceful state of the world, and by the search of the most distant climates, for whatever could minister to the luxuries of the Roman capital. Yet this extended knowledge of details was not accompanied with any improvement in the mode of drawing the general outline of the globe. Ptolemy, finding that land existed much beyond the limit fixed by Eratosthenes for his terminating ocean, banishes that ocean entirely from his system, and makes Asia in these quarters terminate in an indefinite extent of *Terra Incognita*. The astronomical part of his geography is involved in errors still more palpable. These arise in consequence of his adopting the measure of five hundred stadia, instead of seven hundred, for the degree of the great circle. The degrees composed of these smaller stadia, necessarily became much more numerous; and that error of excess, to which all the early itineraries are liable, is greatly aggravated. Ptolemy's graduation from the meridian of the Fortunate Islands to the farthest land known on the east, embraces the full half of the circumference of the globe, and would carry

Asia into the heart of the Pacific. When the astronomical error however is corrected, by reducing all the longitudes in the ratio of seven to five, they are made to approximate pretty nearly to the truth.

The remotest eastern nations recognized in the time of Ptolemy, were the Sinæ and the Seres, the former of whom were reached by sea in the course of navigating beyond India, while the latter formed the terminating object of the great land caravan which went from Byzantium across the entire breadth of Asia. The Sinæ were, by the early European writers, identified with the modern Chinese; but D'Anville, whose system it generally was to reduce the dimensions of the world known to the ancients, placed the Magnus Sinus of Ptolemy in the Gulf of Siam, and allowed only a limited navigation along the coast of Cambodia. M. Gosselin, still bolder, fixes the Sinæ in modern Siam, and does not allow Ptolemy's knowledge to have reached beyond the Straits of Malacca. This last opinion is acceded to by Vincent, Pinkerton, and Malte Brun, and seems to be more generally received. In fact the arguments in its favour appeared so strong, that in a former essay, as well as in the first chapter of the present work, I have given my assent to them. Since that time, and during the printing of the present chapter, the facts and sugges-

tions offered by the extensive local knowledge of my friend Mr Crawford, have somewhat changed my views; and I shall state another hypothesis, though, from the late period of receiving the materials, it has necessarily been put together in a somewhat hasty manner.

It must be premised, that the Malays are now ascertained not to be the original tenants of the peninsula which bears their name, but to have had their first abode in the southern part of the island of Sumatra. Now, in Ptolemy's delineation of the Golden Chersonese, there occurs the name Malayucolon, which Mr Crawford states to be the name under which the Malays are actually known in these seas. Ptolemy adds immediately after, the "coast of the pirates," which points out a feature notoriously Malay. Lastly, Sumatra actually produces a large quantity of gold, a circumstance much more conclusive than the mere display of it in the courts of Pegu. We have thus three features assigned by Ptolemy to the Golden Chersonese, which agree with Sumatra, and not at all with the southern extremity of Ava and Pegu. The circumstance of Sumatra being an island, will not weigh much with those who consider how closely it is connected with the opposite shore, and how difficult it always proves for rude navigators to distinguish between continent and island. The form of Sumatra, once consider-

ed as a peninsula, would agree much better with the delineation of Ptolemy, than Pegu, which is scarcely a peninsula at all.

Should we suppose Sumatra to be the Golden Chersonese, we must then carry farther to the east the knowledge of the ancients, though it would be difficult to make out any approach to correctness in the delineation of the ulterior shores. Java (Jabadiu) would then appear in its proper relative position to Sumatra, though too distant, and much too small; but the *Saba divæ insulæ* are probably another part, erroneously detached from it. The question would then recur, whether the Sinæ were not the Chinese? and it seems difficult to suppose that navigators could have proceeded far in the seas beyond Sumatra, without learning the existence of that vast empire. This would make Ptolemy agree with the author of the Periplus, who evidently considers the Sinæ as the same people with the Seres, and silk as the produce of their country. A bold conjecture might even place Cattigara at Canton. This would indeed imply a false orienting of the coast of the Sinæ, in making it extend from south to north instead of from east to west. Such a mistake, however, is by no means so rare, even in nearer coasts, as to make it wonderful that it should take place at this faint and farthest extremity of ancient knowledge.

The next question, which relates to the position of the Seres, has been the subject of still greater controversy. This people have been found in Thibet, in Little Bucharía, in the country of the Eygurs, and even in Sirinagur, a province of the north of India. The writer of this has elsewhere explained the grounds on which he conceives it to be undoubtedly China. The merchants stated to Marinus, that from the Stone tower, a position not entirely fixed, but considerably east from the sources of the Oxus, the journey to the capital of Serica occupied seven months, being more than they had spent in travelling to this point from Byzantium. This period, after making every allowance for the obstacles and difficulties of the road, was amply sufficient to bring them into the very heart of China. All the physical and political features of that great empire exactly coincide with those ascribed by the ancients to Serica. Its extensive and cultivated plains, the production and manufacture of silk, which is even called "the Seric substance;" the mild, industrious, timid, and quiet disposition of the inhabitants; their aversion to and jealousy of strangers, and their carrying on trade only at one frontier station; all these are common to the ancient Serica with the modern China. Ptolemy indeed describes it as bounded on the east by unknown

lands ; but this might arise from his information falling short of the eastern sea, besides that this bounding *Terra Incognita* appears to have been with him quite a favourite theory. Pliny and Mela, who both, like Eratosthenes, consider Asia as bounded on the east by an ocean, represent that ocean as the boundary of Serica ; Pliny even calls it the Seric Ocean.

WE have formerly had occasion to observe, that the descriptions of India, founded on the expeditions of Alexander, discover little knowledge of that region beyond the boundary of the Punjab, where his career terminated. The Ganges was recognized as the greatest river of this part of the world ; but the embassy of Megasthenes conveyed little more than a general idea of the dimensions of India, and of the existence of its great capital of Palibothra. The Roman arms did not at any time approach the frontier of India ; yet, from sources not fully explained, Ptolemy and Pliny have been enabled to give delineations of this country, the accuracy of which has been more highly estimated, in proportion as modern knowledge has become more extensive. In fact, several of the most remarkable discoveries recently made in Indian geography, are mere restorations of the maps of Ptolemy. Among these are

the existence of the source of the Ganges on the southern side of the Himmaleh, after, upon the erroneous authority of Chinese surveys, it had been placed in the heart of Thibet. The fact also, ascertained by the mission to Caubul, that the five rivers of the Punjaub unite into one before joining the Indus, equally coincides with that ancient authority. There is some difficulty in tracing what materials Ptolemy and Pliny possessed, in addition to those collected by the historians of Alexander. We may presume them to have been derived, as in other cases, from mercantile caravans. Ptolemy even makes an incidental mention of one, which came from Serica by the way of Palibothra, though it does not seem to have been on nearly so great a scale as that which proceeded along the southern border of India.

In the time of Ptolemy and Pliny, Palibothra continued still to be the capital of India, and the grandest feature of its interior regions. Here resided the monarch of the Prasii, whose dominions included all the magnificent plains watered by the Ganges and its tributaries, at all times the most powerful seat of Indian empire. Frequent, however, and ample as is the mention of Palibothra among all the writers on ancient geography, there is no question which has been more contested than where that metropolis actually

stood. D'Anville, followed by Dr Robertson, placed it at Allahabad, situated on the junction of the Jumna and the Ganges. This is founded on the statement made by Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes, that Palibothra was situated at the junction of the Ganges with another river, called by him the Erranaboas, and which was the third in India as to magnitude, being only inferior to it and the Indus. It is also observed, that the place is still called by the Indians Praeg, and the people of the district Praegi, which bears strong similarity to the name of the Prasii, whose capital Palibothra was. Allahabad itself is held in such reverence by the Hindoos, as to be called the "king of holy cities;" the territory for forty miles round is esteemed sacred; and many of the numerous pilgrims drown themselves at the junction of the two rivers, thinking thereby to obtain a sure passport to heaven. From these considerations, there certainly arises an apparently plausible ground for concluding Allahabad to be the ancient capital of the Prasii. It does not appear, however, that these proofs can stand against the positive contradiction given by Ptolemy and Pliny, the two greatest geographical authorities of antiquity. Pliny, in his itinerary through India, does not merely place Palibothra in quite a different position, but, making the junction of the Jumna and Ganges one of the points of his

line, he places Palibothra four hundred and twenty-five miles *from* that junction. If we subscribe, therefore, to the opinion of D'Anville, we must suppose Pliny to have written quite at random, and without the least knowledge of the country which he was describing. But besides his general reputation, it is understood that the English officers, who have acquired the best knowledge of the interior of India, have been led to entertain a very high idea of his accuracy. It is observable, also, that besides the Jomanes (Jumna), he mentions, as quite a different river, the Erranaboas, or that which Arrian states to fall into the Ganges at Palibothra. The delineation of Ptolemy coincides with that of Pliny, except that he makes the city somewhat farther still below the junction, and nearer the discharge of the Ganges into the ocean.

The greater credit seems due to this geographer, since we find him in his map delineating with accuracy the leading features in this part of India, several of which are not mentioned by any other writer. The Jumna, the Sarayu or Gogra, and the Soane, are derived from their real sources, and made to join the Ganges in nearly their true relative position. The Vindia mountains are also exhibited in their proper place, with the Namadus (Nerbuddah) flowing from them on the one side, and the Soane on the

other. It appears to be, therefore, by the statements of Ptolemy and Pliny, that the question must be decided. Although the authority of Arrian be good, yet his statement respecting the river here joining the Ganges, and its place among the rivers of India, stands single, and is not supported or repeated by any other writer. It rests solely upon the somewhat confused report of Megasthenes, who if, as was very likely, he went from the Punjaub along the north of India, might pass along the head of the other rivers, and might not estimate duly the magnitude of any except the Erranaboas.

The hypothesis of Major Rennell accords better with the above statements. He places the site of this early capital near Patna, where there is said to have been a great city called Patel-pooter or Pataleputra. No considerable river now falls into the Ganges at this point, but it is reported that the Soane, which now joins it twenty-two miles higher, flowed formerly under the walls of Patna. This hypothesis rests certainly on a much more solid foundation than the other; yet it is liable to considerable objections. From Allahabad to Patna, instead of four hundred and twenty-five miles, is only about two hundred (English). In the ancient itineraries, remote spaces are usually exaggerated, and the English mile is somewhat greater than the Roman. Yet the discre-

pancy appears still too great. According to Pliny, from the junction to Palibothra is four hundred and twenty-five miles; from Palibothra to the mouth of the Ganges is six hundred and thirty-eight. Allowing, therefore, for a general exaggeration, the city ought at least to be at two-fifths of the distance between the first and last point. It is not, however, above a third. Pliny besides mentions both the Soane (Sonus), and also the Erranaboas, quite as distinct rivers. Ptolemy also places Palibothra at a very great distance below the junction of the Soane with the Ganges.

Amid these difficulties I shall mention a place considerably lower down the river called Boglipoor. In the Greek orthography of Asiatic names, the letters *b* and *p*, *a* and *o*,* are used almost indiscriminately. Making these conversions, and softening, according to the Greek euphonic system, the harsh combination *gl*, Boglipoor is converted into Paliboor, which requires only a Greek termination to make it Palibothra. The position answers very exactly to that assigned to it in Ptolemy, considered in relation to the leading natural features which occur upon the course of the Ganges. In reference to Pliny, it is too much in the middle

* According to Mr Hamilton the *o* in the first syllable here really ought to be *a*. See Gazetteer of India, art. Boglipoor.

between the junction of the Jumna and the mouth of the Ganges, and errs as much on one side as Patna does on the other. In another view, the great extent might enable it to reach the vicinity of Monghir, which even now is sometimes included in the district of Boglipoor. The Erranaboas would then be the river of Nepaul, which passes by Catmandoo; a river of great magnitude, though it holds but a second place amid the mighty streams with which this region is watered. Upon the whole then, without rejecting the possibility of Patna, I would consider this as most strongly supported by ancient authorities, as the site of this once mighty capital of India.

HAVING thus considered the views entertained by the ancients during the period of their most extended knowledge, it can be of little consequence to contemplate the erroneous theories into which they fell, when progressive barbarism gradually shut in from their view all these distant regions. The darkness which was now involving the western world, appears evidently in the work published in the eighth century by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna. He discovers indeed some tolerably correct ideas in regard to the coasts of India, the navigation to which continued long unaffected by the general revolutions of Asia. But all its inland parts, with Serica, are

confounded together under the general appellation of Seric-India; a term which is made to comprehend Bactriana, and in short all Central and Eastern Asia. He thus proves himself to have viewed these regions in the manner natural to ignorance, as a dim and indistinct mass, the features of which were all blended together. He revives the error of making the Caspian a gulf of the Northern Ocean. In short, his age seems characterized by the almost total extinction, in regard to these remote regions, of the geographical lights which had shone upon the age of Pliny and Ptolemy.

ASIA underwent now a new destiny. The Arabs, under the standard of Mahomet and his successors, diffused widely through it their new religion, their language, and their literature. These, by the empire which knowledge always exercises over mankind, subdued the barbarous conquerors who poured in from the north; and the greater part of Asia became Mahometan. Arabic science under the Caliphs, though not perhaps so extensive as it has sometimes been represented, was undoubtedly superior to that of Europe. A great share also of their knowledge and activity was turned in the direction of commerce and geography. Notice has already been taken in the first chapter, of the countries, rarely

or not at all visited by the Greeks and Romans, to which their arms and commerce were extended. Little remains to be added here, as their systems consist rather of the detail of particular facts than of general views or methodical arrangement. They restored the correct outline of Asia, by making it surrounded by an ocean, which, in the case of China and the countries beyond India, was doubtless founded upon accurate information. In regard to the remoter extremities, we may doubt whether it did not rest chiefly on the renewed theory of a circumambient ocean, though we have seen that some vague rumours had reached them respecting its frozen confines.

THESE informations, which were possessed by the Arabian scholars, did not much avail the learned of Europe. The complete difference of language, and antipathy of religion, wholly obstructed any process by which the knowledge of the one could become common to the other. In the deepest gloom of the middle ages, all idea of any distant parts of the world was lost, unless in so far as derived from the ill-understood notices in the Greek and Roman writers, by the few who could peruse them. The first source whence any new ideas on the subject of Asia could be derived were the Crusades. A view of the crusade geography is found in the map annexed by Sanuto to his part of the work entit-

led *Gesta Dei per Francos*. It is a complete picture of the profound ignorance in which Europe was then involved respecting every thing beyond itself and the part of Asia traversed by the Christian armies. Jerusalem is placed conspicuously in the centre of the world, as the point to which every object ought to be referred. Persia is introduced nearly in its proper place, also the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Caspian. Georgia, Hyrcania, and Albania, are also pointed out; and, as nothing was known beyond them, they are made to extend northward as far as the Pole. To the east, nothing seems to have been known but India, which, under the modifications of Greater and Lesser, is repeated at different points; but, in the text, the river Indus is stated as the eastern boundary of Asia. To the north-east is represented an immense range of mountains, crowned by the castle of Gog and Magog; and, in the space within these, it is observed, that the Tartars had been imprisoned by Alexander the Great. The earth, as in the most ancient systems, is represented as a circle, surrounded by the sea, the shores of which are made at all points nearly equi-distant to Jerusalem.

FROM these miserable elements a great increase of information was obtained, when embassies and missions began to be sent into the interior of

Tartary. Among the persons so employed, Rubruquis, both as to accuracy and intelligence, stands pre-eminent. He made Europe acquainted, not only with that large tract through which he himself travelled, but with a wide extent of the central regions of Asia; eastern Mongolia, Tangut, Thibet, with Cathay, the splendid and distant termination of the continent. The key of this Tartar geography is Karrakorum, the residence of the posterity of Zingis, and the capital of an empire, which extended from the eastern ocean to the frontier of Germany. No remains of it have ever been discovered; nor do there appear to exist any means of determining, with perfect accuracy, the place where it stood. I confess it appears to me, that the positions fixed by modern geographers are founded altogether upon false data, and must be very remote from its actual site. As this is a somewhat curious question, there may be room for briefly stating the grounds of this dissent, and my motives for placing it at least a thousand miles to the west of the stations fixed by D'Anville and Fischer. The opinion of D'Anville, being the one most commonly received, places Karrakorum near the eastern limit of the great desert of Shamo or Cobi, about sixty degrees of longitude (which in the forty-fifth parallel will be more than three thousand miles) directly east from the Volga. In reference to the

probability of the friars having traversed so vast an extent of space, we may admit, that the lamentations made by them, on account of the furious rapidity of Tartar journeying, give at first sight a plausible appearance to the supposition. Rubruquis even asserts, that the amount of every day's journey was equal to the space from Paris to Orleans, or about seventy miles, which would certainly, in four months, have been sufficient to have carried them to the farthest extremity of Asia. I apprehend, however, it will be found, that the troubles and hardships encountered by the missionaries in their journeyings, led them greatly to overrate the speed with which they were performed. The proof is, that whenever they state the specific time employed in travelling between ascertained points, a daily rate is brought out, which does not approach to that above asserted. Thus Carpini and his companions were taken up by the Tartars at Kanou, on the Dnieper, and they make most grievous complaints of the rapidity with which they were obliged to ride from thence to the Volga. Yet two months (from the 4th February till Easter) were employed in travelling this space, which does not, in direct distance from east to west, exceed six hundred miles. Rubruquis gives also two months for the time employed in travelling from the Danube to the Don, "riding post as the Tartars doe." The

interval between the Volga and the Yaik or Oural, which would be highly rated at two hundred and fifty miles, occupied twelve days. From the Oural they travelled for forty-three days directly east, yet were still short of the Balkash, which is not more than nine hundred miles east from the Oural. In these itineraries twenty miles a-day would be a very high average; nor does any one of them sensibly exceed that rate. These data are so positive and precise, as to render it a mere matter of curiosity, to inquire how the worthy friars should have so mightily over-rated their own performances. The main cause rests doubtless in their own miseries, endured in a mode of life so foreign to all their usual habits. In this trackless route, also, a somewhat circuitous line, and occasional variation, must be probable, though they seem to have been avoided as much as possible. We may refer also to the observations made by Mr Barrow, in his Travels through China, that the movements of the Tartar horses are made in such a manner, as to present the appearance of a much greater degree of speed than they really exert.

In applying these observations to the itinerary of Rubruquis, we find that his return from Karakorum to the Volga, made by the most desert and shortest route, was performed in two months and ten days (say seventy days). This is little

more than was spent by Carpini in travelling between the Dnieper and the Volga. Taking, however, the highest rate of a little more than twenty miles a-day, we have scarcely 1500 miles for the direct line by which Rubruquis penetrated eastward through Asia. The details of his journey, in going outwards, render this still more evident. The route then included some deviations to the south and to the north; and, from their departure to their quitting the shores of the Balkash, the period employed was four months. Nearly one of them, however, being spent in halts, we cannot reckon more than three for this part of the journey. From the Balkash to the palace of the Khan was three weeks. Is it possible to conceive, when they employed three months in travelling, full speed, twelve hundred miles, that in the next three weeks they should pass over two thousand? It is true, that after leaving the Balkash, they complain of a certain acceleration; but this is counterbalanced by the direction to the northwards, and by a great part of the road being particularly rocky and difficult. It seems inconceivable, therefore, that this point should have been more than four or five hundred miles (if so much) beyond the Balkash. The geographical data of Rubruquis agree with this position. He describes Cathay (China) as lying to the south-east; whereas, ac-

according to the usual position, it ought to be directly south. The Kerkis (Kirghises) are said to inhabit to the north. Their original position, in fact, was along the banks of the Irtysh. The Pascatirs (Baschkirs) are stated to occupy the country to the west; but the ordinary position of Karrakorum would have removed them to an immense distance. Rubruquis observes, that all the rivers seen or passed by him flowed to the westward; a circumstance true with regard to those of Northern Asia, as far as the heads of the Irtysh; but beyond that point the case is reversed, and they all flow to the eastward. The only particular on the other side is the mention of the residence of the Khan being ten days' journey from Onamkerule or Mancherule, a name which appears evidently derived from the rivers Onon and Kerlon, the heads of the Amour; but though these rivers gave name to the original country of the Mongols, it does not seem to follow that this country was entirely confined to their banks, or that its frontier might not reach westward to within ten days of the spot alluded to. The prevalent belief, that Karrakorum was the capital of Mongolia, is in direct contradiction to Rubruquis, who states, that the residence of the dynasty of Zingis had once, indeed, been in that country, but that now "Tartaria was the royal and chief city." An evident motive for

this change is afforded by their western conquests; the site which I have pointed out being evidently the most convenient for an empire which was to hold Russia in one hand and China in the other.

Among the arguments for D'Anville's position of Karrakorum, is the name of Karakum applied to the district in which it is supposed to be situate. No proof, perhaps, could be more unfortunate. The name implies "a desert of black sand," and in this sense is given to many similar tracts in different parts of Asia. That in question forms a branch of the great desert of Shamo. Any tract to which such a name could justly be applied would be manifestly inadequate to the support of the numerous herds necessary for maintaining the central encampment of this great pastoral and military empire. In this view, the position fixed by Fischer on the Orchon, one of the numerous rivers which unite in forming the Selingha, might appear preferable. It would agree also with Rubruquis, in being to the north of the Balkash, whereas Karakum is to the south. The main objection of the distance, however, remains unaltered, there being no material difference of longitude; to which we may add, that all the early tributaries to the Selingha flow eastward, in direct opposition to the above statement of Rubruquis.

In thus pointing out whereabouts Karrakorum must have stood, I must own myself without any data for fixing, even within one or two hundred miles, its precise position. It might be in the territory at the head of the Irtysh; but I should rather incline to place it in the great plateau of Soongaria, a rich pastoral region, which continues to maintain vast herds of sheep and horses. The historian of Timur compares it to a great sea of verdure; and Rubruquis says, that on approaching the residence of the Great Khan, he entered on a vast plain, "in which there was not so much as a mole-hill." The head-quarters of the present Khan of Soongaria are still mentioned under the names of Harcash or Kabakserai, which are not very dissimilar to Karrakorum. The country has been so little, if at all, traversed by modern travellers, that any faint monuments or traditions which might still survive may easily have passed unobserved.

To these notices of the Tartarian missionaries, MARCO POLO added a description of Cathay and Mangi, with their splendid capitals of Cambalu and Quinsai, a number of leading features in Central Asia, and some ideas respecting the south-eastern coasts of that continent. But his narrative, however splendid and imposing, was not such as that any one could form out of it a

precise and systematic delineation of the countries referred to.

THE period now came, when more comprehensive and accurate materials were afforded for the delineation of this continent. The Portuguese fleets having once discovered the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, suffered only a short period to elapse, till they had traversed all the Indian seas. In the course of twenty years they had explored the southern and eastern coasts of Asia, including China, and even in part Japan. Their statements were much more regular and intelligible, being founded upon nautical observations, and designed as the guide to succeeding navigators. When the European geographers of the sixteenth century, however, began to arrange these materials, and to connect them with those derived from other quarters, they became liable to various sources of error and confusion. This information was drawn from three different and quite distinct channels; first, the maps and descriptions of Ptolemy, which in that early age, and in the absence of more recent intelligence, were carefully studied; next, the early travellers into Asia; and lastly, the Portuguese navigators. The regions mentioned by these respective writers, being approached by different routes, and reported under different names, and the descriptions being

too vague to be easily identified, appeared to them to be all so many separate countries. Distinct positions were therefore to be found for the Serica and Sina of Ptolemy, the Cathay and Mangi of Marco Polo, the Siam and China of the Portuguese. In this difficult task, however, they were greatly aided by the obscurity which covered the vast portion of the globe intervening between Asia and America. These regions, thus swelled by triple repetition, and which could never have been contained within the actual limits of Asia, were successively spread out over the vast expanse of the Pacific. Nay, as the western coast of America was yet in a great measure unexplored, Asia, on the earliest maps, was linked to, and made to form one continuous mass with it. The writer of this had a full opportunity of observing the progress of these errors in the survey of a number of early Venetian maps, preserved in the King's library, where they are arranged by Mr Macpherson in so distinct and intelligent a manner, as to be easily consulted. A short notice of some of these may appear curious to the geographical inquirer.

1. The world (GIACOMO, 1546). Here America is joined to Asia throughout the whole of its mass. The coasts of Asia are correctly delineated, including China and Canton; but these last distinct from Mangi and Cambalu, which are represented as considerably farther east, while

Tebet (Thibet) is south-east of them, and borders upon Mexico.

2. The world (JULIUS DE MUSIS, 1554). In this map, which is observed to be "according to the more recent and accurate writers," the two continents are separated, and Asia rounded, though with very exaggerated dimensions. Here too China is in its proper place, beyond it Sina, and beyond it an immense region called *Tertia vel orientalior India*, containing Mangi, Quinsai, Cathay; north-west from this last is the Serica of Ptolemy, with its rivers flowing into the northern ocean; to the north-west of this appears Lop.

3. Asia (Anonymous, 1562). Here, to the north of India, are delineated all MARCO POLO's features: Camul and the great desert, with warnings of the delusions which spirits are there wont to practise. Here too we have China, with Mangi and Quinsai far to the north, and having Cambalu to the west.

4. PAULO DE TORSANI, (Verona, 1562). The light which had been thrown upon the relative position of the two continents appears here eclipsed; Asia and America are again joined together.

5. PAULUS CIMERTINUS, (1566). This is the most extraordinary delineation of the whole; not only is Asia entirely joined to the American con-

continent, but it is interposed between North and South America; and Cathay is placed at the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico.

6. BERTELLI, (1571). Asia and America still joined.

7. Anonymous, and without date, but probably posterior to the last. Here Asia and America are separated by the Strait of Anian, represented as stretching into the Northern Ocean. On the Asiatic side appears the province of Anian.*

These detached fragments of knowledge were, in the end of the sixteenth century, attempted to be arranged into a regular system by ORTELIUS, who illustrated them by a series of maps, exhibiting an entire delineation of the globe. His task

* In the course of this examination, the author found reason to suspect that the Strait of Anian, so celebrated in modern geography, and in search of which the Spaniards sent so many voyages of discovery, had its origin in a very different quarter than is commonly supposed. Anian is described as a country of Asia, and its first position suggests that it is Anam, a name synonymous with Tunquin. The Europeans, originally prepossessed with the idea that Asia and America were one, or separated only by a narrow strait, imagined every deep indenture to be this strait. In the course of discovery, the strait and country of Anian were both carried farther to the north, and the last has been even transferred to America; but I do not know any other original source, except the above, to which the name can be referred.

is performed with diligence, and he displays a material extension of knowledge, though we may still discover the very imperfect acquaintance of Europeans with every part of the Asiatic continent, except the outline of the southern coast, now constantly navigated by its vessels. America is fully distinguished from Asia, though its western coasts approach very near to those of Japan. China, Mangi, and Cathay, are still exhibited as entirely distinct; but from having no data to check him in the north and west, he is enabled to pack all the three, without that enormous extension of Asia to the eastward, which his predecessors adopted. China occurs first in its proper position at the extremity of the southern coast of Asia; to the north and quite distinct is Mangi, extending as far as the Northern Ocean, into which it stretches into the form of a promontory. The extreme point is Tabis, a name for which the author is indebted to Eratosthenes, who made it the farthest extremity of Asia. In these two regions we have, of course, a repetition of all the features of southern China, sometimes under different names, sometimes under the very same. Hence the Canton of Marco Polo is placed thirty degrees to the north of the Canton of the Portuguese, both being the very same province and city. To the west of Mangi, and in the interior of Asia, is Cathay, with its capital Cambalu. It

does not, however, border on the ocean, which is here made to bend to the northward, in order to make room for the Tartarian empire. To the east of Asia, the three Japan islands are tolerably delineated. The islands of Lequiho Grande and Lequiho Pequinho (Loochoo Great and Small), and Fogo (Sulphur Island), are laid down, probably from the data of Mendez Pinto. In the middle of those, however, Formosa is unluckily interposed. Between Malacca and China we find the coasts of Camboia, Campaa, and Gauchinchina; but as there is no Gulf of Siam, these coasts are spread out so as to exhibit much more than the real dimensions. In the interior of the peninsula beyond the Ganges, we discover a feature, which continues long to figure in European maps, the lake of Cayamoy, forming the source of the Brahmapoutra, the Ava, the Menam, and all the rivers by which this part of Asia is watered. In the north-west of the continent appears the Caspian, receiving the streams both of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. Yet a little farther to the north appears the Kitay (Aral), out of which the Obi flows; and, after a very short course, reaches the Northern Ocean. The northern coasts of Asia, as far east as the Obi, were known to Europeans from repeated voyages undertaken by the English and Dutch for the discovery of a north-east passage. Of the range of coast be-

tween the Obi and China, which cannot be estimated at less than seven or eight thousand miles, nothing whatever was known. The whole was gratuitously filled up with the imaginary coasts of Mangi and Tartaria.

About a century later, Sanson, the first geographer of his age, exhibits the state of European knowledge about the middle and end of the seventeenth century. He by no means displays, with regard to Asia, that improvement which might have been expected to take place during such an interval. He drops Mangi, indeed, but still separates Cathay from China, though the voyage of Goez had already proved their identity. Cathay is placed to the north of China, but not on the Northern Ocean, a large tract of territory intervening. The islands of Japan are correctly delineated; but beyond them the island of Jesso extends like a vast *Terra Incognita*, with a doubt indicated whether it does not unite with America. Corea, under the name of Corey, appears as a large island, detached from China. The lake of Cayamoy continues to give rise to all the rivers of Siam and Ava. In the north, the Caspian still receives the Oxus under the name of Abiamu, and the Jaxartes under that of Chesel. The lake of Kitay still exists, but immensely to the east of the Caspian, and approaching nearer to the frontier of China. It still gives rise also

to the Obi, which has now an immense course, both to the west and north. Some features of the modern Siberia begin to be recognized. Beyond the Obi appears the Jenesseia, though under very inadequate dimensions. Tobolsk may also be discerned, though much out of its place, and under the denomination of Tollbock. This part of Asia being now stretched considerably farther northwards, presents more nearly its own vast dimensions; but the contents of the space are still unknown, and are oddly filled up with the features of Eratosthenes, Ptolemy, Rubruquis, Marco Polo, and Jenkinson, piled confusedly together, and without any proper adjustment.

Two centuries had thus elapsed since the commencement of modern maritime discovery, without any thing of Asia being accurately known, except its southern, and a portion of its eastern coast. The interior and northern parts were still laid down from ancient maps, or from the narratives of travels during the middle ages, authentic indeed, but too vague to afford materials for geographic delineation. Even the parts which were known could not, in consequence of the vast blanks, be combined or connected with each other. About the beginning, however, of the eighteenth century, a great accession of light was poured in from two separate and distant quarters. The civilization of Russia, and the

relations established between it and the western states, were the means of communicating to the latter a knowledge of the discoveries it had long been making over the vast tracts stretching along the Northern Ocean. So early as the middle of the sixteenth century, her arms had penetrated to the Obi; and she continued to stretch her dominions over these widely extended and thinly inhabited regions, till she reached, at one point, the frontier of the Chinese empire, and at another the shore of the Eastern Ocean. The general form of the continent, and the relation of its leading portions to each other, were thus, in a great degree, established. In the course of the last century, Kamtschatka, the Kurile islands, and Jesso, were explored, and the Russian discoveries thus connected themselves with those made from the side of India. Behring, Tschirikoff, and a number of other navigators, traced the relations between the extremities of Asia and America, the seas by which they are separated, and the archipelagos of the Aleutian and Fox Islands. At a former period, a series of expeditions, undertaken along the northern coast, particularly those of Deschnew and Shalaurof, were generally supposed, especially when combined with the observations of Cook, to have established the entire separation of the two continents, though doubts are still entertained by some upon

this subject. The fuller account of these voyages and discoveries is reserved for the part of the work which treats of Northern Asia.

The Russians also explored and illustrated the geography of the countries situated on the Aral and the Caspian. They ascertained the proximity, and at the same time the separate existence, of these two great inland seas, and they proved the Aral to be the receptacle, not only of the Jaxartes, but of the Oxus. They aided, indeed, in giving currency to the belief that this last great river had once fallen into the Caspian, but had been directed by artificial efforts to its present termination. The question as to this change, which has been the subject of much geographical speculation, is, I think, set at rest by the able discussion of M. Malte Brun, in his system of geography. It seems there clearly proved, that the Oxus never had any other course, nor any other receptacle, than its present one. The reason of ever thinking otherwise manifestly is, that the ancients, and after them the early modern maps, invariably describe this river as falling into the Caspian. But this delineation is abundantly accounted for, when we find the ancients ignorant of at least the separate existence of the Aral. They appear to have viewed it as the western extremity of the Caspian, the greatest dimension of which sea was accordingly made to extend from east to west.

Under this view the Caspian necessarily became the termination of the Oxus. Yet the best informed Arabian writers caused it to fall into the lake of Kitay, under which name they designate the Aral. The early moderns, however, while they copy the lake of Kitay, still retain the ancient delineation of the Oxus falling into the Caspian. Yet Jenkinson, in 1560, had already directed it, though by an extravagant and fanciful course, into the other receptacle, adding, for the first time, the story of its having been directed thither from the Caspian by artificial means. The same report, more than a century after, was revived by some Russian writers, who connect it with the attempt made by Beckewitz to penetrate by the Caspian into the interior of Tartary. To baffle this encroachment, the Tartars are said to have undertaken the enormous labour of turning this great river from the one sea to the other. It is evident that repetition here, instead of strengthening, wholly invalidates the report; for if the change was made at the period first stated, how could it remain to be made at the second? Besides, Bruce, who had means of information at least equal to that of any writer on the subject, had not the least idea of this turning aside of the course of the Oxus. The river by which Beckewitz sought to penetrate into Tartary, is called by him the Kisil Daria, the mouth of which he him-

self afterwards passed in his voyage round the Caspian. The information of Hanway, collected at Astrabad, entirely coincides with that of Bruce. On the whole we may safely conclude, that this supposed alteration of channel is a mere theory invented to account for the discrepancy, quite easily accounted for otherwise, between the ancient maps and modern observation, and that this unparalleled achievement of Tartar industry has been imputed to them on grounds altogether imaginary.

The next grand source of modern information was derived from the Romish missionaries, who found admission, and were for some time in high favour at the court of China. As their scientific attainments, particularly in astronomy, were there highly valued, they had no difficulty in obtaining access to all the geographical documents which were contained in the archives of the empire. These, amid all their imperfections, threw a great light, not only upon the interior of China itself, but upon those vast tracts of Tartary to the north and west, which are subjected to its real or nominal empire. To the north they traced the Mandshur Tartars, the course of the Amour, and the original country of the Mongols, who had acted so great a part in the history of Asia. Their information here extended to the limit of Russian conquest and discovery, and correct data

were thus completed for the exterior outline of the continent. Their intelligence with regard to the countries bordering on the Great Desert to the northward, was not so perfect ; yet here too they afforded some confirmation and additions to the observations of Marco Polo and Goez. That wide space also between India and China, comprehended under the name of Thibet, they were enabled, by a recent Chinese survey, to exhibit in considerable detail, and probably with a pretty near approach to accuracy. The lake of Caya-may was now banished, and the sources of the great rivers which water the peninsula beyond the Ganges, as well as of those of China, were discovered in mountainous regions which lie much deeper in the interior. Upon the whole, these materials, arranged by the superior geographical skill of D'Anville and Rennell, afforded to Europe a tolerable idea of the component parts of the Asiatic continent, and of their bearings upon each other.

Amid all these improvements, a deep shade of ignorance, or rather of error, continued to rest upon some regions to the north of India ; regions deeply interesting by the grandeur of their physical character, as well as by their contiguity to the frontier of the British Asiatic empire. The Chinese Lamas who had been sent to make a survey of Thibet, stopped at Lassa, and collected

only imperfect reports concerning the sources of the great rivers of India, and the mountain chains which form its northern boundary. The Brahmapoutra, indeed, was derived, not very erroneously, from the eastern side of the lake Mansarowar; but the two rivers which took their rise on the other side, and one of which passed by Ladak, were represented most erroneously as the heads of the Ganges. This delineation was adopted in all the European maps; while the Indus, identified with the Kama, was derived from the Belour mountains, and made to run almost directly south through its early course. In consequence, however, of the final establishment and extension of the British power, a number of men, eminent for learning and accomplishments, were sent out to fill the official situations attached to it. Among these, ardent zeal for the extension of oriental knowledge was speedily excited, and for this purpose, every opportunity afforded by the embassies sent to the neighbouring states was carefully improved. The inquiries of Major Symes, and Dr Buchanan, during the mission to Ava, threw quite a new light on the geography of the countries comprehended under the Birman empire. Successive expeditions, sent for the express purpose, established the source of the Ganges on the southern side of the Himmaleh, and proved the error into which Europe had been betrayed by

the report of the Chinese Lamas. The missions of Turner into Bootan, of Kirkpatrick and Buchanan to Nepal; the observations of Lieut. Webb, and other officers, fully established the extent and bearing of that immense chain of mountains, covered with perpetual snow, which forms everywhere the northern limit of Indostan. Its altitude, however, remains still to be more precisely ascertained. The mission to Cabul illustrated its prolongation westward, the tribes by whom its declivities are inhabited, and above all the hitherto unsuspected origin and course of the Indus and its tributaries. The influence of the Chinese empire, and the hostile attitude in which the states of northern India have placed themselves with regard to Britain, has barred the attempts made to penetrate farther into the depths of Asia. The interior of Thibet, and of the vast regions between Cashgar and China, containing probably many great countries and cities, are still known only by the vague reports of the early travellers; nor is there any present appearance of our knowledge in this quarter being very speedily extended.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Printed by Walker and Greig,
Edinburgh.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

The report of the Chinese Emperor of Tsin, into the hands of Kien-ping and the Chinese to report the observations of the Emperor and other officers fully established the extent and bearing of the Chinese chain of mountains, covered with perpetual snow, which forms every where the northern limit of the Chinese. In this line, however, remains still to be more precisely ascertained. The mission to Tibet illustrated its position in the westward, the tribes by whom its frontiers are inhabited, and above all the habits to unassisted origin and course of the Chinese and its character. The influence of the Chinese empire, and the hostile attitude in which the states of northern India have placed themselves with regard to Britain, has barred the attempts made to penetrate further into the depths of Asia. The interior of Tibet, and of the vast region between Cashgar and Yunnan, containing probably many great countries and cities, are still known only by the vague reports of the early travellers; and is there any present appearance of our knowledge in this quarter being very speedily extended.

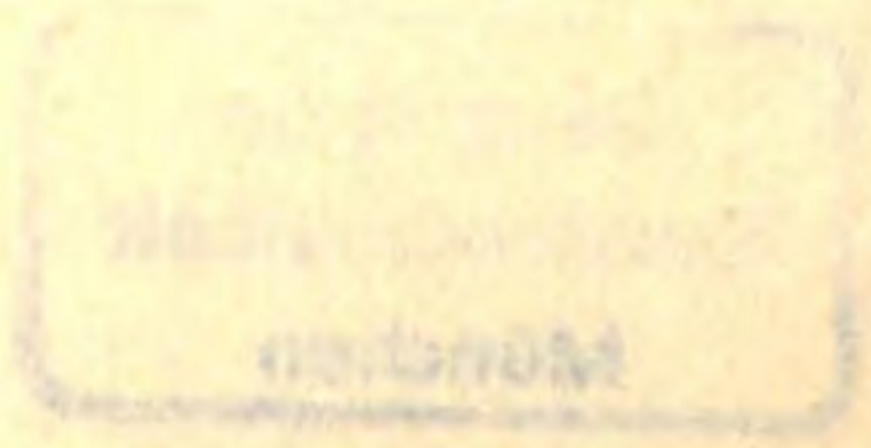
END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

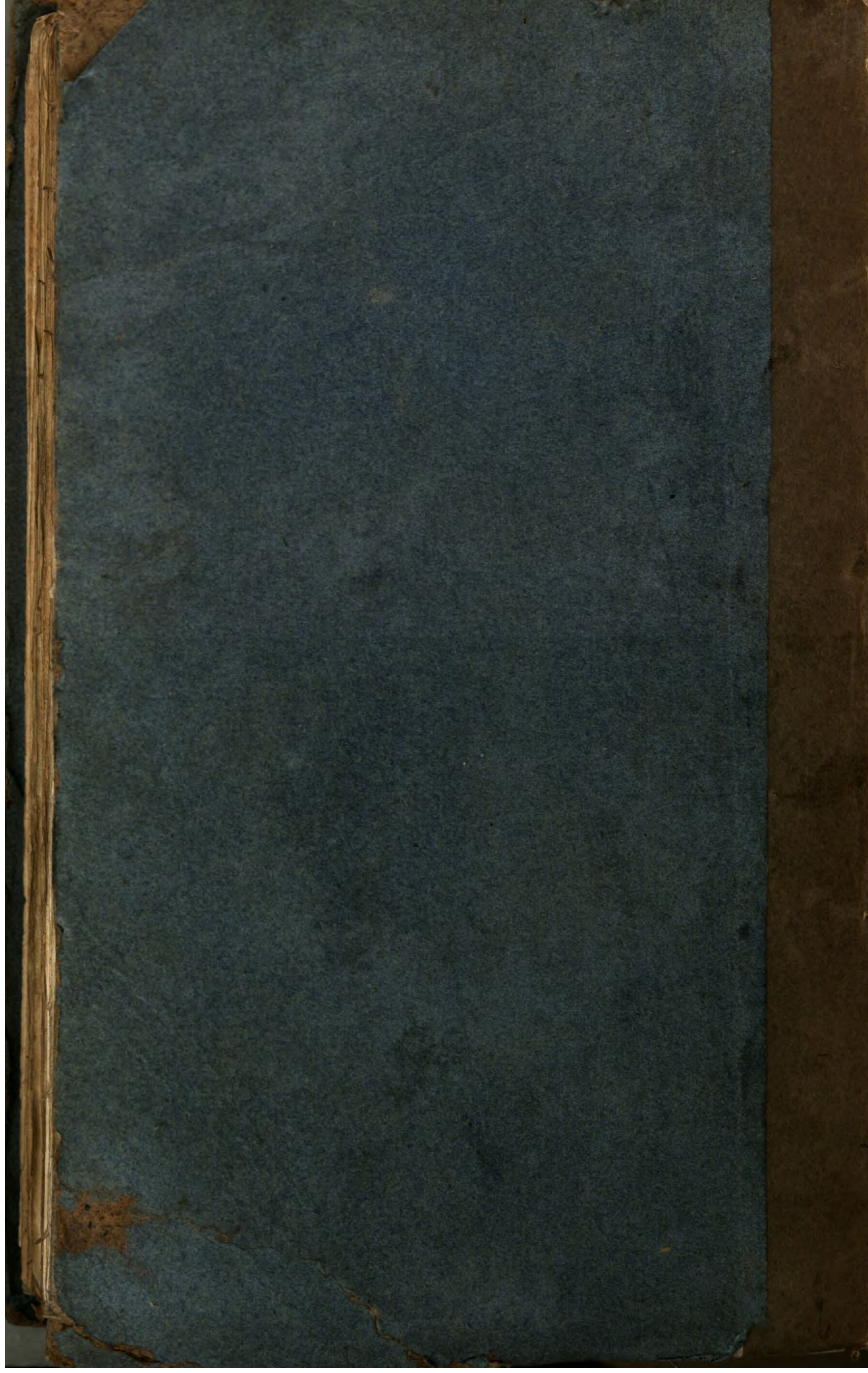
Printed by the Government

of India

Calcutta

1858





Murray, Hugh,

Historical account of discoveries and travels in Asia from the earliest
ages to the present time

Bd.: 1

Edinburgh (1820)

It.sing. 697 e-1

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10467612-9